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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 5, 1 March 1982

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## CHINA REPORT

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Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

## CONTENTS

Unify Thinking, Conscientiously Rectify Party Work Style (pp 2-13, 16) (Wang Renzhong).....	1
Attach Great Importance To Raising Labor Productivity (pp 14-16) (Editorial Department).....	22
It Is a Great Strategic Task To Strengthen the Education of Staff and Workers in Realizing the Four Modernizations (pp 17-20, 48) (Yuan Baohua).....	26
It Is Imperative To Uphold the Basic Principles of Marx' Theory of Reproduction--Part One (pp 21-25) (Deng Liqun).....	34
How To Help Cadres Study the Theory of Reproduction (pp 26-28) (Wang Jue, Zang Zhifeng).....	43
Question: What Is Multichannel Commodity Circulation and Why Must We Practice It, and Why Is State Monopoly of Grain Purchase and Marketing a Long-Term Policy? (pp 29-31).....	48
Industrial Enterprises Should Be Rectified in a Comprehensive Manner (pp 32-36) (Contributing commentator).....	54
Correctly Handle the Question of Marriage and Family (pp 37-39) (Wang Chunyuan, Chen Zhenguang).....	63
A Democratic Work Spirit Should Be Encouraged--Notes on Reading Volume One of 'Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi' (pp 40-43) (Yao Liwen, et al.).....	68

Literary and Art Criticism Is the Science Which Makes Literature and Art Flourish (pp 44-48)	
(Qu Xing).....	75
Lenin Attached Importance To Reforming State Organs (inside back cover)	
(Wen Zehuan).....	83



## UNIFY THINKING, CONSCIENTIOUSLY RECTIFY PARTY WORK STYLE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 82 pp 2-13, 16

[Speech by Wang Renzhong on 11 February 1982 at a meeting of responsible cadres of departments directly under the Hubei provincial authorities]

[Text] Talking about the importance of the question concerning party work style, Comrade Chen Yun once said: "The question concerning the work style of a ruling party is a question concerning the life and death of this party." That is to say, the question of party work style concerns whether our party will degenerate and whether our country will change its political color. Comrade Mao Zedong made the mistake of launching the "Great Cultural Revolution" because he wrongly appraised the situation and thought that our party would soon degenerate and our country change its political color. His appraisal was incompatible with the actual conditions. His wrong appraisal of the situation led to the adoption of wrong policies and resulted in the decade-long internal strife. This was an impressive lesson. However, speaking in terms of possibility, there is the danger that the party may degenerate and the country change its political color. As long as imperialism and social imperialism exist and before we have achieved communism, we cannot say that the danger of the party degenerating and the country changing its political color does not exist. If we say that our party and country are not in such a danger, we are in danger of slackening our vigilance. The correct attitude is to be aware of this danger and adopt a correct method to overcome this danger. Only by doing so can we ensure that our party will not degenerate and our country will not change its political color. We have confidence in our ability to do so.

### The First Question Is What Attitude We Should Take Toward Our Party Work Style

Our party work style has been appraised in two incorrect ways. One incorrect appraisal is made by a few people who hold that our party has degenerated, is hopeless and must be toppled and it is necessary to change the regime. They say that a two-party system should be adopted as in the United States and the two parties take the reins of government by turns, with one holding office and the other being out of office. This view is held by the remnant forces of the "gang of four," including Jiang Qing and Zhang Chunqiao who are in prison. Echoing them in society are the heads of some illegal

organizations and publications. Their words and deeds are counterrevolutionary. We must expose and crack down on their words and deeds. There are other muddleheaded people, especially some youngsters, who believe these words and lose their confidence in the party. We should not label them as counterrevolutionaries but should warn them and educate them through criticism. We should tell them to neither be taken in by the enemy nor to echo the enemy's counterrevolutionary words. There were still quite a number of such muddleheaded people in the first half of last year. The conditions now have been greatly improved. But, we cannot say that there are no such people at present. We are still required to work on them.

The other incorrect appraisal is made by another small group of people who hold that there is nothing wrong with our party work style. In their opinion, people are trying to scare others when they say that our party work style is unhealthy; people are exaggerating when they say that the matter concerns the life and death of the party. Some comrades even hold that the practices of establishing underhand connections for the sake of personal gain, securing advantages through pull or influence, putting up houses for private use, transferring rural residences to cities and seeking privileges in daily life are trifles. They do not know that these trifles have caused the dissatisfaction of the masses with our party, harmed the image of our party and impaired the prestige of our party. Moreover, these trifles are not few but exist rather extensively. For example, the practice of putting up houses for private use is widely prevalent. Some cadres put up houses for private use by adopting various undesirable means, such as encroaching on vegetable plots, embezzling public funds or using manpower of the collective or the urban building construction teams. In some cases, very obnoxious practices have been involved. Some cadres have seized houses, and not just one but two or three in some instances. Some houses were intended to be built for workers but eventually became the leading cadres' quarters. The masses were certainly critical about this. The question of "changing agricultural population into nonagricultural population" also exists in many localities. Some people took not only their wives and children but also their relatives and friends to the cities to consume commodity grain and unlawfully arranged jobs for them. Why was it that urban population continued to grow? Many rural residents came to the cities through underhand means. The masses also were very critical about this. This shows that such phenomena are not minor problems in daily life but have posed a serious political problem. Quantitative change will lead to qualitative change when it develops to a certain extent. This is a basic principle of the Marxist dialectics.

What especially attracts our close attention is that in our party and army, in the state organs and in our enterprises and institutions, there are bad elements engaged in smuggling, bribery, profiteering, graft and embezzlement. Up to the present, we have not discovered any province free from these conditions. Of course, conditions vary in different localities and may be serious in one locality and not so serious in another. Smuggling is rampant to an appalling extent in some localities. These economic crimes were often committed by the higher levels working in collaboration with the lower levels, by people at home working in collaboration with those abroad,

by people in the interior working in collaboration with those in Hong Kong and Taiwan and by capitalists at home working in collaboration with foreign capitalists. This is not only an economic problem but also a very serious political problem and reflects the class struggle at present. Some of those committing these crimes were recruited by special agents; they gave them information and joined their secret service. Our comrades must understand that as long as imperialism and social imperialism exist and before Taiwan has returned to the embrace of the motherland, they will always carry out espionage against us. Of course, we should not think that all foreigners, compatriots from Hong Kong and Taiwan and Overseas Chinese who visit our country are up to no good. But it is naive to say that none of these visitors is a special agent. Therefore, we must teach our comrades not to be taken in by them but to heighten their vigilance against them. Take for example the foreign capitalists who do business with us. Like any capitalists, they are intent on nothing but profit. Is there any capitalist in the world (except a few progressive ones) who does not want to make profit? That is the nature of a capitalist. Our open-door policy will not change. Neither shall we change our policy of making contacts and cultivating friendship with the peoples and governments of all foreign countries. However, our comrades must never forget that: First, in doing business with foreigners, we should do our best to avoid being taken in and at least to avoid suffering great losses. Second, we must pay particular attention to resisting the corrosive influence of the bourgeois ideology and way of life and always be vigilant against the bourgeoisie's attack with "sugar-coated bullets." We must see that we are now facing a struggle between corrosion and anticorrosion. With the increase in international communication, this struggle is becoming more and more complicated. For example, a capitalist may give you television sets and tape recorders. Does he give you these things for nothing? Is he so generous? A certain comrade borrowed money from a capitalist when he was abroad. Actually he was asking for money rather than borrowing money from others and when you sign contracts with them, you will have to agree to any terms set by them. By doing so, you have made a small profit, but the state suffers a great loss. Does such a man have an iota of patriotism, not to mention party spirit? Some other people have collaborated with foreign merchants in speculation and profiteering by recklessly smuggling gold, silver, cultural relics and rare herbal medicine. They deliberately broke the law. Their crimes cannot be pardoned.

The biggest criminals ever discovered in Guangdong are the director of the Guangzhou Telecommunication Bureau and his wife. Is he the person of the highest rank involved in similar cases? No one can guarantee that there are no other persons of still higher rank involved. The CCP Central Committee has now decided to make a thoroughgoing investigation. The higher the rank of a cadre handling the cases of graft and embezzlement, profiteering, smuggling and other economic crimes is, the more strictly he should handle these cases. Why? The first reason is that he has been long educated by the party and tempered in the revolution and therefore should have strong party spirit; he is experienced in handling such cases and is not young and naive so that he should handle the cases strictly. The second reason is that strict handling of cases involving a few leading cadres who seriously violated the law and discipline may create public opinion inside the party and in society

that bureaucrats of the CCP should not shield each other and leading cadres should be severely punished for violating the law. This means love for our veteran cadres and defends their honor. The final results of the investigation will show that only a very small number of our veteran cadres have seriously violated the law and discipline. This will tell the masses that only a very small number of our veteran cadres have degenerated. This will preserve the prestige of our veteran cadres and our party. Otherwise, a small piece of rotten meat will spoil the whole pot of food. Facts have proved that the broad masses of our veteran cadres are good and maintain the fine traditions of the party and that only a very small number of them have degenerated. Some comrades have been tainted with bad habits and have made mistakes under new conditions. They are different from those who have degenerated. We believe that they will definitely change for the better after receiving education.

We must correctly appraise the question concerning party work style. On the one hand, we should see that our party work style has not fundamentally changed for the better; on the other, we should see that our party work style has undergone a considerably great change for the better in the past few years.

What are the chief indications which show that our party work style has changed for the better? First of all, we have a good party Central Committee. Our current Central Committee has really revived and carried forward our party's fine traditions and the work style of integrating theory with reality, maintaining close ties with the masses and making criticism and self-criticism. It realistically acts according to the principle of democratic centralism and no longer follows the practice of letting one person alone or a few people have the say. With the exception of some questions in daily work which the Central Secretariat is authorized by the Central Politburo to decide on and handle, the decisions made by the Central Secretariat on questions concerning major principles and policies must be approved by the Politburo or the Standing Committee of the Politburo prior to circulation as central instructions. The meetings of the Central Secretariat are usually presided over by Comrade Hu Yaobang. Comrade Zhao Ziyang also takes part in the discussion of important questions concerning government work and economic work. Naturally we respect the opinions of both Comrades Hu Yaobang and Zhao Ziyang. However, a decision is never made by an individual but is made only after group discussion. During these discussions, each comrade may give his own opinion and even those comrades who attend meetings of the Central Secretariat as observers may express their opinions. Should there be different opinions, the Secretariat adopts a cautious attitude and usually postpones the making of decisions. Whether during the meetings or personal talks, the comrades of the Secretariat including our secretary general, always seriously make criticisms and self-criticisms. The situation is the same in the Central Politburo. Once in a discussion of a very important question, a few comrades put forth different opinions which were later proved wrong in actual practice. However, none of these comrades was ordered to make self-criticism or held responsible for the mistake. In fact, all these comrades who gave different opinions are good comrades and they are concerned with the interests of our country without any



selfish ideas and personal considerations. There will be no problem at all when they realize that their ideas are wrong and resolutely implement the party's decisions. Our current Central Committee really is developing democracy and is indeed exercising collective leadership according to the principles of democratic centralism.

Now the central authorities are taking the lead in streamlining organization, training cadres in rotation, raising efficiency and overcoming bureaucratism. This is a revolution in the state system which is of profound significance. Yet, instead of merely requiring organizations at lower levels to carry out this revolution, the central authorities are the first to do so by setting an example for the lower levels and undergoing experiences to be passed on to the lower levels.

Regarding the actions of senior cadres in their daily life, not one leading comrade in the central authorities has been found to have violated the relevant stipulations of the central authorities since they were made. In the past, each member at or above the level of the Politburo of the party Central Committee, vice premier and vice chairman of the NPC Standing Committee had two cars. It was then decided that each of them should have only one car, and this stipulation is now being observed. In the past, leading comrades in the central authorities had the privilege of having a film shown at their own place. This privilege has been given up in accordance with the criticisms of the masses. Now when we want to see a film we have to buy a ticket and see the film together with other comrades. All gifts received by leading comrades in the central authorities during their visits to other countries must be handed over to the state, except for souvenir badges. Now Zhongnanhai is open to the public on Saturdays and Sundays, and cadres and masses can buy tickets to visit it. The Great Hall of the People is also opened to the public, cadres and masses can buy tickets to visit it, and mass organizations and various associations can hold their meetings there. All this could not have happened in the past. Before the "Great Cultural Revolution," conferences were usually held every summer at Lushan or Beidaihe, so that central leaders could enjoy themselves at these summer resorts while attending conferences. This practice has also been changed. Not one leading comrade in the central authorities who is in good health takes off for a vacation, except those who are old or sick and are allowed by the central authorities to leave their posts for convalescence. Even on Sunday, they often do not rest but continue to work. This is the real life of the party Central Committee. However, some people are still attacking the party Central Committee, saying that they enjoy privileges. They have even said that the Central Committee has degenerated and deteriorated. What else can this be if it is not rumormongering?

What was mentioned above shows that our party Central Committee is good. It is not as bad as some people have said. We are reasonable to say that the work style of the present party Central Committee is even better than that before the "Great Cultural Revolution." The fine traditions during the Yanan period and the period of the liberation war as well as the fine traditions during the period immediately after the founding of the state have been carried on in the present party Central Committee. Of course, what is

the most important is that a correct and Marxist ideological, political and organizational line which suits China's conditions has been mapped out since the 3d, 4th, 5th and 6th plenary sessions of the 11th CCP Central Committee. The "resolution" adopted by the sixth plenary session, in particular, summed up historical experiences of our party since the founding of the state and is playing an important role in bringing order out of chaos, in unifying the ideology of the whole party, in strengthening the unity of the whole party and in promoting our work. It is of great historical significance. Our practice over the past several years shows that the line, policies and principles formulated by the CCP Central Committee are correct. As to some mistakes and shortcomings in our concrete work, they are unavoidable at present and will also be unavoidable in the future; they were unavoidable when Comrade Mao Zedong was alive, and would also be unavoidable even if Marx were chairman of our party.

Soon after the sixth plenary session, a forum on work on the ideological front was held. It advocated carrying out criticism and self-criticism, strengthening party discipline and overcoming laxity and weakness. It not only criticized the trend of bourgeois liberalization but also required that CCP committees at all levels fight against various unhealthy tendencies on various fronts. Recently after making some investigations at the lower levels, I felt that this forum has really played a great role. Before I made the investigations I did not expect that the forum on the ideological front work had played such a great role and felt that many ideological problems were still not solved. But now I have realized that the role this forum has played is greater than I had expected. As everyone can see, over the past half year or so, we have made encouraging progress in our press, broadcast, television, film and other work. Recently I had a talk with some comrades from the literary and art circles. I found that they all have new plans and have made up their minds to go deep into the thick of life and create better literary works.

In Guangxi, Hunan and Hubei, when I called some advanced people together and had a talk with them, I found that within our party, there are still large numbers of good comrades who have high class consciousness, are honest and upright and dare to struggle against unhealthy tendencies and evil practices. In Hubei some veteran model workers of the 1950's whom I talked with are still keeping to their lofty fine qualities in ideology and in work style. Some of the advanced people are young people. For example, in Guangxi, there is a female comrade called Zeng Xiaolian. She is a league branch secretary and has a high consciousness and a good style of work. She has done very well in helping some backward or erring youths. Her mother is a neighborhood committee director, who has been serving the masses of people wholeheartedly for 30 years or so. There is no stealing in their residential district. You can just leave your bicycle in front of a gate, for thieves dare not steal things in this district. Both the mother and the daughter are advanced individuals. As soon as I learned this, I made a telephone call to Beijing, inviting two writers to come to Guangxi to write about the advanced people and their good deeds. The large number of good cadres and advanced people always act in accordance with the party Central Committee's requirements, and their hearts and the hearts of the people

always beat as one. It is not as some people have said that, just as all crows are black, everyone is involved in the unhealthy practices. Definitely not! Although such advanced people are few, their exemplary role is very important. They represent the healthy trends of our party and our nation!

In Hubei, were not some female comrades labeled as the so-called "five black flowers" during the "Great Cultural Revolution"? I only wrote a short article in the past to praise "a red flower," that is, Comrade Xia Juhua. However, some people in the "rebellion faction" created the "five black flowers." They included not only Xia Juhua, but also Liu Feng, Chen Kuang, Jiang Guiying and Wang Yuzhen. This time I had a talk with some of them and some other outstanding young actors and actresses who have scored achievements in their artistic work. They are all loyal to the party and are ready to make more contributions to the party and the people before they become old. This is highly commendable. However, they feel there is insufficient scope to exercise their abilities and nobody will listen to them. Although Liu Feng is a girl of strong character, she cried bitterly this time when she spoke. I said, at the time when the party Central Committee is combating the unhealthy tendencies, you have answered the party's call enthusiastically and boldly struggled against the unhealthy tendencies. Thus you have played the role of a mainstay at the mid-levels. Thus, our party is full of promise. I also talked with some comrades from the press circles. After one of the editors of GUANGMING RIBAO finished her impassioned speech, I said, you must insist on fighting; what on earth are you afraid of? She said she was not afraid of anything but what she said would be of no use. What conclusion can we draw from this? It shows that we have many good comrades who wish to do more work for the party, but they have not been discovered or are being oppressed. These good comrades and advanced people, as Lu Xun said, are the backbones of the Chinese nation on whom we place our hopes. What action, then, should our party take to deal with those who oppress the newly emerging forces and who mock at or attack the advanced? I think our comrades will certainly know what to do.

#### The Second Question Is How To Rectify Party Work Style

First, it is necessary to greatly strengthen communist ideological education, to widely publicize good people and good deeds and to greatly support the advanced people and newly emerging things; it is necessary to clear the way for their advance and to get rid of all difficulties and obstacles in their work. We would like to tell all those who do not support newly emerging things or who have placed obstacles in their way of advance: We shall not punish you, but would you please leave your posts or be transferred to some other posts? If you are old, you should retire or leave your posts for convalescence.

I spent 2 and 1/2 days listening to the report given by Xiangfan municipality. This city has done quite a good job. In the past, Xiangfan was a very backward city. In the early years after liberation it had a little handicraft industry but was without other industry. Its total industrial output value amounted to only 50 million yuan. This increased to 100 million

in the early years of the "Great Cultural Revolution." After the "gang of four" was smashed, its output value rose to only 600 million yuan in 1978, then this amount increased by 200 million yuan each year in 1979, 1980 and 1981. At present it has reached 1.2 billion yuan. Taking the city's population as a basis for calculation, the average industrial output value per capita is 5,000 yuan. They have indeed done a good job. Their experiences should be summed up and passed on to others. The first enterprise in Xiangfan to become well-known throughout the country was the Xiangfan textile mill. It was already one of the five national advanced units in 1963. Comrade Liang Yanbin was an advanced figure of this factory. I once wrote an article of several hundred words, entitled "A Red Banner," in praise of her. Nevertheless, she was persecuted and afterward locked up. Premier Zhou received her once and Elder Sister Deng was moved to tears while reading about her deeds. At present, the Xiangfan textile mill has become a big factory and has been divided into two. Its annual output value has now reached 170 million yuan. This factory started with only several dozen foot-operated weaving machines. I suggest that this factory set up a factory history exhibition room and hang in it photos of all its advanced people together with written descriptions of their deeds. The moment young workers are recruited into this factory, they should be educated in the factory's history. We should often organize veteran workers to tell young workers about the factory's history so that they may maintain the glorious tradition of self-reliance and hard struggle in pioneering a great cause. Their present factory director is a 38-year-old comrade. He has a family of four and they are living together in one room. New dormitories have been built in this factory on several occasions. Yet he, as well as seven other leaders including the factory's party committee secretary, are still living in their original places. I told him that this alone will cause him to enjoy prestige among the workers irrespective of his capability. Although we live in poorer houses, we enjoy prestige among the masses. This is the greatest happiness of party members. If we rush to occupy new houses and live better, the masses will curse us behind our backs with their fingers pointing at us. Which, in the end, is better? What is gain and what is loss? Is this not very clear already? The Xiangfan textile mill should write its factory history. Other advanced units should do the same. In our army, even a company writes its own history and all heroic people and deeds are recorded in it. The company history is used to educate new recruits. Why can we not learn this from the PLA? This glorious tradition of advanced units is very valuable. Is it not very good ideological and political work to educate the younger generation with this kind of tradition? Do not oversimplify our ideological and political work. How can our work be successful if we indulge in empty talk and abstract principles?

Comrade Ma Xueli also talked to me about his factory. In the fourth quarter last year, no bonuses were handed out for 3 months because the factory's production plan was not satisfactorily fulfilled. Ideological and political work was then carried out among workers. As a result, production rose instead of dropping. This has proved that production will increase if ideological and political work is properly carried out. We cannot rely on bonuses alone to arouse enthusiasm and put "money" before all other things. Comrade Fan Zhongzhi, who is a veteran worker and a long-standing model,



told me that we are buying enthusiasm with money. He said that this will not do and will not last long. Enthusiasm cannot be bought with money. We had better strengthen ideological and political work and carry out communist ideological education.

I also listened to Wuhan municipality's report on carrying out the "five stresses and four points of beauty" activities and was greatly inspired. At present, "five good families," "five good blocks," "five good streets" and so on are not yet common. But as long as there are some advanced units, we have got a foundation and the direction for our advancement. If we persist in this way, we will be able to completely overcome the unhealthy trends in society. This is called foundation work and mastering skills. The report also contains good experiences in remolding young criminals and in strengthening education for young people. Wuhan municipality has organized advanced figures into report groups. These people have given many reports on their own advanced ideology and deeds. These reports are very popular. I have made a suggestion to the Propaganda Department asking it to pass on and popularize this experience. There are advanced people in factories and streets, good professors and lecturers in schools and good party, CYL and administrative cadres in schools and factories. Is it not good to invite some of them to make reports in schools, departments, factories and streets in a planned way? At present, the political courses in many schools are not welcomed by the students there. This is a fact. However, there are also some teachers who give vivid and lively political lessons which are welcomed by students. Why can we not invite these teachers to give reports to teachers teaching politics? There is more than one such teacher. They can be found in primary schools, secondary schools and universities. Can we just depend on the few people of the Propaganda Department? On the one hand, we are few in number. On the other hand, we lack personal experiences. The things we learn come indirectly to us through listening to reports. Therefore, what we talk about cannot be so vivid, lively, deep or inspiring.

I have also heard the report of Comrade Guan Tao, secretary of the Wuhan watch factory party committee. This factory is a good typical example of carrying out scientific management among our enterprises. Their achievements merit emulation by our factory party committee secretaries and factory directors as well as by the leading cadres of our organs. Although this factory is still rather backward in equipment and industrial technology and is not as good as some of the enterprises in capitalist countries, no developed capitalist country can run a watch factory like we do! The cadres and workers of this factory love the factory like their own home and have such a good communist style. Therefore, the factory is very well run. This factory was designed for a production capacity of 300,000 watches a year. Last year, production reached 530,000 watches and taxable profit of the year amounted to 19 million yuan, or more than the total investment of this factory. A very significant event occurred in the factory. The son of a leading cadre of the army worked in the factory. He applied for leave to visit relatives with his mother. The factory party committee found out that he was not going to visit relatives but was going to take a trip to Lushan, and turned down his request. Perhaps because of his powerful connection, the young man said that he would take his leave with or without permission, and

consequently went away for 2 weeks. When he returned, he not only did not make a self-criticism, but also said that they could dock his pay and that he was prepared to sacrifice 3 months' pay. How do you deal with this sort of person? The factory party committee held a meeting to discuss this problem and also mobilized the workers to hold a meeting. In the end, they decided to dismiss him. Why did he have to be dismissed? If this person was not dealt with, then the children of other cadres could also go to Lushan without taking leave. If they allowed the children of cadres to disobey factory rules and regulations, how could they set demands on and educate the other workers? Therefore, taking the situation as a whole into consideration, they decided to dismiss him. Is this, in the final analysis, an act of attacking or an act of cherishing? I say this is an act of cherishing. When he goes to work again in the future, he will behave himself and observe discipline. They have more children of cadres in their factory. In assigning work, they treat the children of cadres the same as the children of other workers and give them no special privileges. One year there was only a single party member among the new workers entering the factory, and the factory assigned him to the kitchen to work as a member of the kitchen staff. From the start, he took the lead. Later, they also assigned two children of cadres to work as kitchen staff. Everybody thinks very highly of working in a watch factory because they can wear a white coat. However, there are all kinds of work in the factory and no one is willing to work in the kitchen. Although the work in the kitchen is dirtier, more arduous and tiring, they still convinced the cadres' children to set the pace by going to work in the kitchen. Is a party committee upholding the principle of the factory in this way not worthy of our emulation? With such good comrades how can we not make a success of the work style of the party? How can we not make a success of our enterprises?

In all our work we must properly grasp this key link of ideological education. The policy of the party Central Committee is to grasp with both hands. In one hand we must grasp material civilization, and in the other hand we must grasp spiritual civilization. Economic construction is the center of all our work. All our work, including ideological and political work, must be centered on economic construction. However, under the premise of division of work between the party and government and under the premise of the party committee having a good grasp of the major problems of the policies and principles of economic construction and the major problems of planned economy, the emphasis of the routine work of the party committee should be placed on the building of spiritual civilization and on grasping party work, mass work and ideological and political work.

Second, our veteran cadres must be models in correcting party work style and must pay attention to the training and choosing of successors. This is the glorious responsibility of veteran cadres. I have had a few heart-to-heart talks on this problem with some of the veteran cadres present. Our veteran cadres have all been through a long period of tempering. All of them have been involved in the revolution for more than 10 to 20 years. Some of them have worked in the underground organizations of the party and some have worked in revolutionary base areas. When we joined the revolution, whoever thought that "we were bound to see the triumph of the revolution"? At that

time, we all believed in the inevitable triumph of the revolution, but we never gave a thought to whether or not we would see it for ourselves. For in the White areas, nobody knew when the Kuomintang would arrest you and chop off your head or when you would be killed in battle. Did any of the comrades ever think what kind of an official he would become after the triumph of the revolution, what kind of a house he would live in, what kind of a car he would ride in or how much pay he would receive each month? At that time, they only thought about how much salt and edible oil cost. If times were good, they received a little subsidy. If times were bad, there was no subsidy. During the war of resistance against Japan, I was, together with Comrade Song Renqiong, in Jinan. Because there was a famine, we received a special ration of 5 jin of beans a month. Every day, we would cook a little soybean for food. Sometimes, we would grow few bean sprouts, and that was considered a special treat. At that time, did anyone complain of hardship? Did anyone say not to engage in revolution because of the hardship? Even when they endured hardship and they were wounded, they still made revolution. The revolution would only end when they were killed. But until their death, they would make revolution. In his political report delivered at the seventh party congress, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Countless revolutionary martyrs have laid down their lives in the interests of the people, and our hearts are filled with pain as we the living think of them. Is there any personal interest, then, that we cannot sacrifice or any error that we cannot abandon"? This talk of Comrade Mao Zedong's was extremely inspiring at that time. Is it not still very inspiring when we read it now? Let us think of the comrades in arms who fought together with us in the past and how many of them are still alive today! In the early part of 1937 when I was working in the Jinan work committee, we had four committee members. Today, I am the only one living; the other three comrades sacrificed themselves. We who survived the revolution are able to witness the triumph of the revolution. Is this not the greatest blessing? What more could we ask for? Veteran comrades who really have large families and many mouths to feed or who are in poor health and straitened circumstances will be looked after by the state. Now the party Central Committee has again emphasized that proper arrangements must be made for the veteran cadres who leave their posts or retire and that their political treatment and livelihood treatment must be well looked after. We should see that the party and people have treated us fairly and made our life comfortable. Some of our veteran comrades still bear the scars of wounds, some in one place and some in several places. Some are still carrying bullets which lodged in their bodies. These are of course records of their glorious past. However, this kind of record is only a demonstration that we have the courage to devote our lives to the communist cause, and we cannot use it as capital for seeking fame and wealth or enjoyment. Today, the posts we hold are quite high and we are also quite well off. If we still go in for unhealthy tendencies, how can we be worthy of the martyrs who have died? How can we be worthy of the former glorious tradition of hard struggle and fearing no sacrifice? How can we be worthy of the party which trained us and the people who have confidence in us? I have told the veteran comrades who made mistakes: If you want other people to respect you, you must first respect yourselves, respect your glorious past, respect your former good work style and don't throw them away. If you throw them away and engage in unhealthy tendencies, how can people respect you! You must not ruin your own prestige!

As for our children, should we ask them to seek special privileges or should we ask them to identify themselves with the children of the workers and peasants? Our children, regardless of whether or not they have reached the age of maturity, will all be looked after by the state and society, and we should not worry about them. The principle of our party is: we definitely cannot spoil them, we definitely cannot allow them to have any feeling of superiority and we definitely cannot allow them to have any special privileges in life. Only by educating them at a tender age to have communist morality and value and imbuing in them the lofty ideals of struggling all their lives for the revolution and for the people can they identify themselves with the workers and peasants and can they develop into useful people. If we pamper them from childhood and are always asking them to eat well, dress well, seek privileged work and enjoy preferential treatment so that they regard themselves as special people, they will become divorced from the masses of workers and peasants and there will be no future for them. Therefore, how we cherish our children is a vital problem. We definitely have a handful of cadres' children whose behavior is not good and they are a bad influence. Last year, I specifically talked about this problem because there was an unhealthy trend at that time which held that all veteran cadres were bad and sought special privileges and all their children were also bad and sought special privileges. I have criticized this viewpoint because it was not based on facts. According to a study carried out by the Central Discipline Inspection Commission, the proportion of children with bad characteristics whose parents are cadres is, on the whole, the same as that of children whose parents are not cadres. The children of some of our cadres are extremely good, and their characteristics are very good regardless of whether it is in their study, their work or their life. However, there is definitely also a handful of them who are not so good and who have even become criminals. We can only blame ourselves for not teaching them properly. A handful of veteran cadres have lost their revolutionary will and their minds are contaminated by incorrect things. Some of our "ladies" are fond of spoiling their children, gaining petty advantages and using the back door. I am not saying all female comrades, but some female comrades are doing these things. Do you call this honorable? This is only bringing shame on yourself. Other people are not doing this to you; you are doing this to yourself and disgracing yourself! We are veteran cadres and leading cadres. If we go in for these kinds of unhealthy tendencies, are we still qualified to talk about other people?

Our veteran cadres must set strict demands on themselves in accordance with party spirit. They should resolutely eliminate any unhealthy tendencies. They should evacuate houses which they have seized. They should hand over to the state the things which they have obtained by foul means. They should actively make self-criticism for their mistakes such as giving and accepting bribes, return what they have unlawfully taken, and pay necessary compensation. They will not be punished if they take the initiative in admitting and correcting their mistakes, making self-criticism, returning what they have unlawfully taken, and making compensation for losses. Those who have seriously violated the state law and party discipline and must be punished for their misdeeds are to be dealt with leniently if they confess their crimes and correct their mistakes. This is the first point I want to talk



about with our veteran cadres. I ask them to prove themselves models in rectifying party work style.

Another particularly important task for our veteran cadres is that they must seriously select distinguished middle-aged and young cadres to be our successors and that they do a good job of passing on experience, giving help and setting an example in the course of training middle-aged and young cadres. This is a question of primary importance. We should do this task while our veteran cadres are still around because they know what kind of successors should be selected. It will be too late and cause delay in our work if we do not hurry with this task now. When the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee concluded, Comrade Xiaoping and Comrade Chen Yun asked the first secretaries and the ministers to stay to talk about the question of selecting middle-aged and young cadres. Our leading group must be revolutionized, better educated, more professionally proficient and younger; otherwise it will be impossible to build a powerful, modernized socialist country. The Hubei provincial metallurgical bureau has 1 director and 10 deputy directors. It is now necessary to send one of them to stay at a selected grassroots unit to help improve its work and gain firsthand experience for guiding overall work. But none of them can be sent. During the initial postliberation period, the Hubei provincial government had only one chairman and two vice chairmen and each of its departments (bureaus) had only 1 director and a few deputy directors. They could work properly! Why are there so many directors and deputy directors now? Because it is necessary to make adequate arrangements for and take good care of them. Which is more important, an individual or overall work? Our old comrades must actively yield their positions to the middle-aged and young cadres who firmly carry out the party Central Committee's line, are of good moral character, have scientific and cultural knowledge of a high level and are full of vigor and vitality. As far as this question is concerned, the biggest obstacle is not the withdrawal of veteran cadres. The veteran cadres are sensible. When adequate arrangements have been made for them, they will serve as advisers, leave their posts for convalescence or retire once they are called upon to do so. However, it is often very difficult to promote the middle-aged and young cadres. The first reason is that the veteran cadres are not unified in thinking. One says this young cadre is good and another says that young cadre is better. Can anyone be perfect? The veteran cadres have shortcomings. How can they ask the middle-aged and young cadres to be perfect? The second reason is that the middle-aged and young cadres compare with one another and one is unwilling to submit to another. Why are you promoted and why am I not promoted? By how much are you better qualified than I am? The middle-aged and young cadres are also particular about seniority. I reasoned things out with them once in Guangxi. The party committee secretary of a county there was a female comrade. She was 35. I said that I would vote for this female if a party congress was to be held in the region to select its committee members. I told them why: There are other comrades in their 40's or 50's who have served longer than she has and are more capable than she is. Yet, it is better to select her than to select these comrades, because we want to train young cadres. She is young and is a university graduate with a fairly good educational background. Moreover, she has been working as a party county committee secretary for 6 years, has

done her job with good results and has been tested in practice. Why should she not be selected? If we do not consider a problem in this way, we shall not have the courage to surmount obstacles and solve this major problem. This is the second point I want to talk about with our veteran cadres.

Third, the problem of criticism, self-criticism and strict enforcement of discipline. What does the present situation look like? In my opinion, since the forum on problems on the ideological front, we have made considerable progress in developing criticism and self-criticism and in overcoming laxity and weakness. However, we have as yet failed to conduct criticism, self-criticism and inner-party democratic life in a perfect, frequent, strict or conscientious manner and the rotten liberalist work style that Comrade Mao Zedong once criticized still prevails in many places. Some comrades in our party, including a few veteran cadres, are trying not to hurt anybody's feelings. They do not criticize those who must be criticized or punish those who must be punished and sometimes they even shield and beg leniency for offenders. They do not adopt the party's standard and criticize those who have committed mistakes. On the contrary they intercede for them. Some comrades in the Hengyang Municipal CCP Committee told me that it is very difficult to punish a cadre now and that people will plead for mercy for him when you are only investigating the cadre's case before making any decision. This kind of phenomenon does exist though it is not prevalent. Why do we, revolutionaries who must not fear even death, fear to criticize those we must criticize? Some comrades fear that by doing so they will hurt the feelings of some people. They said that "the more flowers one grows, the more thorns one gets." Moreover, they called this a lesson drawn from the "Great Cultural Revolution." Indeed, during the "Great Cultural Revolution" there were some people who avenged themselves on the people who criticized and punished them in the past, but this is not where the basic lesson of the "Great Cultural Revolution" lies. The most basic lesson is that political struggle was completely wrong. Therefore, we should vigorously pay attention to overcoming laxity and weakness, conducting criticism and self-criticism and perfecting the democratic life of the whole party. We should also vigorously combat liberalism. I hope that our comrades will read Comrade Mao Zedong's "Combat Liberalism," use the article to check their own activities and find what they should pay attention to correcting.

Here, I should call attention to the following problem. In our party, there are relationships between old comrades in arms, old classmates, old colleagues and between old chiefs and old subordinates. These relationships go back a long way. Now some new relationships have been added to the old relationships, for some children of veteran cadres have married some children of other veteran cadres. The relationships of the younger generation have been added to those of the old generation. There is nothing to blame in these relationships. The question is how we should regard these relationships. Should we treat the parents-in-law of our children in a feudal manner or treat them in accordance with the principles of the CCP? Comrade Chen Yun said: Tell the truth, do not save face. Regarding the above-mentioned state of affairs, I should like to add, in accordance with what he meant, the following words: We should be particular about principles instead of relationships. By being particular about principles, we mean that we should

always do things in accordance with principles, even if our relatives and friends are involved. Your children must accept whatever kind of jobs they are assigned. If they are admitted into institutes of higher education, they should be college students. If they are offered jobs after recruitment examination, they should take the jobs no matter whether they are in state-owned or collective enterprises. Even if they are assigned the job of selling flat bread, they should accept the job. The day before yesterday, I watched a TV play called "The Girl Who Sells Flat Bread." Why can the children of our cadres not be flat bread sellers or dustmen? Certainly they can. Therefore, our comrades should not proceed from the feudal, vulgar or backward aspects of these relationships or exploit these relationships to shield one another or to plead for mercy for one another. Thus they will fail to criticize those they ought to have criticized and fail to punish those they ought to have punished. On the contrary, our comrades must handle these relationships in accordance with the stand of a party member, with our party spirit and with our party's principles. At present there are quite a few people who use these relationships to conduct unhealthy practices, call their conduct the "study of relationships" and call these relationships "under-the-counter relationships." We must be very carefully on our guard and resolutely put an end to and correct these errors.

As for the methods of criticism, the central leading comrades have repeatedly mentioned them, that is, we should seek truth from facts and avoid confusing two kinds of contradictions that differ in nature and confusing right with wrong, and we should be strict and conscientious in conducting criticism. We should remember well the historical lessons and avoid mechanical and excessive struggle. We should not conduct criticism in an unfair and exaggerated manner. We should not jointly attack people or compel them to make self-criticism. We should allow those being criticized to argue their cases and we should not refuse to listen to them when they argue their cases. We should never repeat those "leftist" practices. Moreover, we should not indiscriminately involve the upper and the lower levels connected with the people who have committed mistakes. The past practices of involving all those who have worked under a leading person who has committed mistakes should never be repeated. Our criticism and self-criticism is aimed at strengthening the party's solidarity, heightening the party's combat effectiveness and maintaining and carrying on our party's fine traditions. Besides this, there is no other aim.

Our party committees at all levels should be resolute and by using the weapons of criticism and self-criticism and daring to fight all kinds of unhealthy tendencies, conscientiously rectify party work style. In order to put an end to unhealthy trends, they must strictly enforce discipline. There is the party discipline for party members, the law for everyone, and the relevant regulations in factories, schools and organizations. All these must be observed by the people concerned without exception. First we must educate people. Second, we must formulate regulations and discipline. Third, we must strictly enforce these regulations and discipline. Once they are formulated, they must be strictly enforced. That is why we must be very prudent in formulating them. In formulating them, we should organize the masses to discuss them so as to make them as rational as possible. The more

important thing is to intensify ideological education in order to raise the ideological awareness of the people and help them to become honest laborers and correct their mistakes when they commit any. We should leave a way out for those who have committed mistakes or even serious mistakes. This means that we must be very prudent in meting out organizational punishment to them and must leave some room for further maneuvers. Moreover, if those who have committed mistakes and received punishment have really admitted and corrected their mistakes and if this is supported by factual evidence, we should appoint them to important posts according to their abilities. We should not seize on their mistakes or make those who have committed mistakes feel that they have no prospects at all.

Fourth, on independence and initiative, seeking truth from facts and the mass line. They are the three major points of the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought. Independence and initiative, and self-reliance is a policy that not only the state but also all the provinces, all the areas, all the enterprises and all the service units must follow. This does not mean that all the provinces, all the areas, all enterprises and all the service units should develop in an all-round manner and produce everything they need. It means that they should act in accordance with Comrade Mao Zedong's teaching to build the country and develop all undertakings in a thrifty manner. They should keep this spirit of arduously conducting the cause for a long time and should never discard this spirit. Even when our country is very well developed, we should preserve and carry on this spirit.

Another point is seeking truth from facts. This is our party's ideological line. Comrade Xiaoping has expressed the line perfectly. He said that the line means emancipating our minds, using our brains, integrating theory with practice, seeking truth from facts, studying new conditions and solving new problems. As far back as during the Yanan rectification movement, the CCP Central Committee stressed seeking truth from facts and the mass line. On the eve of the victory of the war of resistance against Japan, I studied at the Yanan party school for 1 year. At that time I learned these two points at the school. However, the later practices have proved that it was precisely because we went against the principle of seeking truth from facts and acted unrealistically that we committed so many mistakes, especially the great number of blunders during the "Great Leap Forward." In order to really act in the manner of seeking truth from facts, we should first have the desire to seek truth from facts instead of the desire to please the public with claptrap. Another thing we should do is to conduct investigation and study in practice and go deep among the masses and never fear difficulties and hard work in conducting investigation and study. One important aspect of our bureaucratism now is the great number of meetings and documents. This is a problem that we often discussed before the "Great Cultural Revolution," but we have not solved it as yet even in our central organizations. That is why Comrade Hu Yaobang is always repeatedly stressing that our leading comrades at all levels should go out of their offices to basic-level units in order to contact the masses and the basic-level cadres and in order to learn from them. To actually act in this manner, we should have strong will power. If we do not go out of our offices, and if we keep attending meetings and writing documents all the



time, we are precisely bureaucratists. I do not believe that we really have so many meetings to attend and so many documents to write. How can there be any harm if we attend fewer meetings and write less documents!

A third point is that our methods should be correct. We should understand materialist dialectics and should not act in a metaphysical manner or under subjective prejudice. When some of our cadres go to the lower levels to inquire into how things stand there and when some of our reporters are gathering news, they already have some fixed ideas in their minds, that is, some subjective prejudices, and their only aim is to find evidence to prove their ideas. This is a subjective method. Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong all told us that the conclusion should never be reached before making investigation and study and that the conclusion should only be reached after making investigation and study. Engels explained this point more penetratingly. He said that if one wants to understand the truth about things and if one wants one's understanding of the truth to be completely free from distortion by any subjective factors, one has to understand the essence of objective things as they really are and to understand the law governing objective things. Therefore, in order to act in the manner of seeking truth from facts, we should raise our capability of understanding. If we do not study theory, we will not be able to understand the fundamental tenets of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought; thus we will not have any weapons. It is of great importance what theory and methods we use to guide our investigation and study and to guide our analysis of problems. We often find the following state of affairs: with regard to the same fact, people often differ in their views. Some of them hold the correct views and some do not. What is the reason for this? The reason is that some people are not guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In training and fostering middle-aged and young cadres, we should especially pay attention to this problem. We must encourage and help those who have a great deal of practical experience but are poorly educated and have a poor understanding of theory, and even those who are relatively well-educated but have a poor understanding of theory, to raise their theoretical level. In order to achieve this we should adopt various measures, such as giving study courses and training courses and holding reading meetings. Only when we are armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought can we really understand the essence of things behind the phenomena and can we really understand the law governing the development of objective things. Empiricism is a bad thing. The "gang of four" used combating empiricism as an excuse to negate us old cadres. We should expose their evil tricks. But we should not deny that empiricism is a bad thing. Some of our old cadres joined the revolution a long time ago and have indeed gained plenty of experience. This is also the case for a few middle-aged cadres who have been county CCP committee secretaries for many years and have also gained plenty of experience. But their shortcomings are unwillingness to read Marxist books and unwillingness to study theory. As a result, they are restricted by their narrow experience and their ideological standard cannot be raised. The middle-aged and young cadres we have promoted will not have broad prospects and will not be competent for the posts of being responsible for all the work independently if they do not study theory.

The mass line has already become a platitude. However, it remains a problem how to carry out the mass line in our work. Everybody understands that whatever work we do we are serving the people. Nevertheless, not all our comrades really understand or really adhere to the principle that whatever work we do we must rely on the masses of people. Some comrades always regard themselves as being cleverer than the masses and are not willing to modestly listen to the opinions of the masses. Why is there coercion and commandism? Coercion and commandism comes from a lack of confidence in the masses. Because of this lack of confidence in the masses, some comrades always try to force their opinions on other people and compel the masses to carry out their orders. In conducting revolutions, leaders are, of course, very important, but in the final analysis, we must rely on the masses of people. It will not do if we rely only on a few leaders or on the party. How could we have achieved the victories of the revolution if our party had not relied on the support of the people throughout the country? Can we, a few cadres and a few party members, build the two civilizations and build a powerful socialist China if at present we do not rely on the broad masses of people and if we do not give play to their initiative and creativeness? No, we cannot. The most important reason why during the past few years our agricultural production has developed relatively quickly lies in our adoption of correct general and specific policies which have brought into play the initiative of the broad masses of peasants. Otherwise, if we continue the old ways such as coercion, commandism, blind commands, egalitarianism, ordering the peasants to work by striking bells, ordering them to work overtime until midnight and conducting other formalist activities, we cannot achieve any results in developing production, even though we tire our peasants out and make them suffer hardships. Some comrades often follow the trend; therefore they cannot adhere to the mass line. As soon as they hear the sound of wind, they think that it will rain. As soon as they heard that the production responsibility system should be established, it seemed to them that there were no other forms of the production responsibility system except for fixing farm output quotas for each household and assigning the households full responsibility for task completion. It seemed to them that the Central Committee's document No 75 was out of date. In some production teams the masses wanted to establish the responsibility systems of fixing farm output quotas for each household and assigning the households full responsibility for task completion, but the cadres' thinking was not straightened out and the cadres obstinately refused to establish the system. In some production teams where conditions were relatively good and output was relatively high, the masses had objections to the establishment of the system of fixing farm output quotas for each household and the system of assigning the households full responsibility for task completion, but the cadres, having heard the trend in other teams, forced the people there to establish these systems. These practices violated the mass line and the Central Committee's policy. If we want to follow the CCP Central Committee, we should act in accordance with its formal directives. Did the No 1 document issued by the Central Committee this year not reiterate that the No 75 document's spirit remains in force? The spirit of the No 1 document can be summarized in the following words: acting in the light of local conditions; giving different guidance to different kinds of teams; centralizing what should be centralized, and assigning what should be assigned. This is the only

realistic way of doing things. According to the different conditions in the production teams and according to the opinions of the masses, various different forms of production responsibility systems can be established in a single production team. We should rely on the masses to solve the problems of what the production team should produce, what it should not produce, how to develop the diversified economy and how to develop the responsibility system well. However correct our party's line and policies are, they cannot work unless the masses voluntarily act to carry them out. When Comrade Mao Zedong talked about the mass line at the seventh CCP national congress, he said the following words: The highest criterion to check a communist's words and actions is whether they conform to the greatest interests of the broad masses of people and whether they are supported by the broad masses of people. These words can be our maxim.

Finally, I would like to talk about the question of unity. The party's unity and solidarity are our party's life. The first thing regarding the party's unity is to unite around the party's Central Committee. The whole party must adhere to the four basic principles put forth by the Central Committee. We must adhere to these four basic principles throughout the entire period of socialism. We must resolutely implement the party's line, principles and policies. Otherwise, the entire party being subordinate to the Central Committee will become empty talk.

In order to strengthen unity, we must resolutely implement the system of democratic centralism and no one should violate it. We suffered heavy losses in the past for violating the system. There were various causes of our mistakes in history but an important one was that the party's system of democratic centralism and the party's democratic life were damaged. If the party's democratic centralism had been correctly implemented, the "Great Leap Forward" in 1958, the "campaign against right opportunism" at the Lushan meeting and the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" could all have been avoided. In February 1967, many Politburo members, vice ministers and comrades of the Military Affairs Commission Standing Committee came forward to oppose the "Great Cultural Revolution." I think that if the Politburo had convened a meeting according to the normal principle of democratic centralism to discuss whether or not the "Great Cultural Revolution" should be conducted and how it should be conducted, the mistake could have been corrected in good time. Could we not have drawn a relatively correct conclusion if we had truly implemented our party's system of democratic centralism, allowed everyone to air his views and drawn on collective wisdom? Therefore, in order to draw a lesson from historical experiences, our party committees at all levels, starting from the Central Committee and without exception, must act in accordance with the party constitution, implement the system of democratic centralism and practice collective leadership. We must submit ourselves to what the party committee has adopted even though we may have reservations if we hold different views. No individual or minority, including first secretaries, should change the collective's decision and damage democratic centralism. We should never permit such things as the cult of personality and everything being decided by one person alone to appear in our party again. This is one of the basic experiences and lessons which was summed up in the resolution adopted at the sixth plenary session. We should never repeat such a mistake.

Besides, we should also pay attention to what Comrade Mao Zedong said in the second point of "Work Methods of Party Committees." We hope our comrades will read it again. It will be of great benefit to do so. How should we improve leadership of party committees? In dealing with problems of principle, we must not make accommodation, compromise or give way but must have them thoroughly thrashed out. In dealing with problems which do not concern principle, we should not enter into endless arguments. Leading comrades of party committees at all levels are required to support each other, help each other, love each other and have mutual understanding. We should place problems on the table for discussion and should not talk behind people's backs. Talking behind people's backs violates the party's discipline and is harmful to the party's unity. To date, there are still some undesirable phenomena in our party. What the party standing committee discusses in the morning will be spread all over by the afternoon. Even before a decision is made, news about which cadres the party committee has criticized, which cadre it has discussed and which cadre it will promote sometimes leaks out. How can we strengthen our party's unity and increase our party's combat effectiveness if we do not overcome such liberalism and anarchism? This problem must be solved. If unity is achieved in our party and in particular among members of party committees and their standing committees, if these people take concerted action, keep in step, speak in one voice and if organizations at one level spur on and bring along those at another level, we are sure that the party's work style, the general mood of society, social order, economic construction and the spiritual civilization will all be improved or enhanced. But if misunderstanding remains among members of party committees and in particular among members of party committee standing committees and if they do not speak in one voice and do not take concerted action, it will never be possible for them to lead millions of people in fighting. Our comrades should never underestimate this question. This is a major question. Unity among members of a party committee on the basis of Marxism-Leninism is also the experience of the watch factory about which Comrade Guan Tao told me. Comrades of the watch factory are not particularly wiser either but they have done very well in this respect. Why then are our party committees, our prefectural party committees, our county party committees, party committees of other factories and our bureau party committees and party groups not able to do so? At present, the problem of disunity is still quite serious in leading groups of some departments and units. This is very harmful to our work and we must solve this problem. I hope that our provincial party committees and municipal party committees will all strive to strengthen leading groups. At present, the leading core of our party Central Committee is very strong and powerful and is closely united. The party Central Committee has already set an example for the whole party. Why can the whole party not learn from the Central Committee? Why should we not learn from the party Central Committee?

What I have said may all be included in the question of the party's work style and can also be considered as a question of building our party. The reason we scored victory in revolution in the past was that we had a good party, a Marxist-Leninist party. At present, if we want to carry out socialist modernization, we also need a Marxist-Leninist party and a good party before we can attain our great goal. To improve our party's work style is to



do a good job in building our party so that we can have a party which is armed with Marxism-Leninism, which has the spirit of criticism and self-criticism and which has close ties with the masses. In this way, we will certainly be able to fulfill the new tasks in the new period. Is there hope to do a good job in building our party? I have already said that there is much hope. We have a good party Central Committee and we have a great number of good cadres and party members in party committees at all levels, including party committees at basic levels. Besides, there are also a great number of activities outside the party which constitute a newborn and an advanced force. An advanced force will not be defeated by any decadent force. History has been developing in this way. We are Marxists and we understand this truth of historical materialism. We must strive to bring about a decisive change of the party's work style this year. We must first of all depend on leading cadres on all fronts and depend on their exemplary and leading role. We are wrong if we are not aware of the seriousness of unhealthy trends of our party's work style. We are also wrong if we have no faith in rectifying the party's work style and overcoming the unhealthy trends. What we must do is to adopt correct methods. As was put forth by Comrade Deng Xiaoping and adopted by the Central Committee, we must overcome the lax and weak situation of our party in ideological and political work, in criticism and self-criticism and in enforcing discipline. The whole party must strive to become stronger, more powerful and more united. We must use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought as a weapon to fight against various kinds of erroneous ideas, erroneous trends and evil practices and develop our party's fine tradition. Our party and our cause have a bright future.

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## ATTACH GREAT IMPORTANCE TO RAISING LABOR PRODUCTIVITY

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[Article by Editorial Department]

[Text] Our country's total industrial and agricultural output value grew by 4 percent last year as compared with that in the preceding year, exceeding the planned growth by 3 percent. Total grain output was close to the all-time high in the record year of 1979. New achievements were made in the growing of industrial crops and in animal husbandry, forestry and fishery. However, the conditions of industrial production were not as good as those of agricultural production. This was chiefly because production in some heavy industrial enterprises yielded rather poor results. In particular, in the state-owned industrial enterprises, labor productivity dropped despite the payment of much greater bonuses. We should pay close attention to this state of affairs. There were many reasons why some enterprises did not carry out production well. An important reason was that they did not work with all-out efforts. We must work with all-out efforts and must not be disheartened. Our party's leading organs at various levels should courageously resist all unhealthy tendencies, stop all illegal activities, and criticize bureaucratism and undisciplined behavior.

With regard to the method of leadership, the leaders in charge of production and industry should go to the grassroots level to discuss problems and visit factories. It is impossible to push work forward by just sitting in the office and wracking one's brains to find a way to do the work. We have discovered two wrong methods of work: The first is that the leaders do not go to the grassroots level to make investigations but just sit in their offices to make calculations. The second is that the leaders do not make contacts with the technicians and workers at the grassroots levels but only with people at the higher levels and only ask the state to make additional investments. Comrade Chen Yun said during the 1950's that it is imperative to spend more than 90 percent of our time on making investigations. When we do not know enough about conditions, we should bestir ourselves and visit factories and departments one by one to learn about conditions. Once we acquire more knowledge, we can work out good methods.

To realize socialist modernization and to handle properly the relationships between the parts and the whole, and between unified leadership and

decentralized management, are matters of great importance. In building our country, we should coordinate all activities like pieces in a chess game. In carrying out economic activities, we should act according to plan. In developing the national economy, we must put the main emphasis on planned economy while bringing into play the supplementary role of regulation by market mechanism. In giving greater decisionmaking power to industrial enterprises and carrying out various forms of the responsibility system in agricultural production, we do not mean to discard unified leadership and planning. In carrying out agricultural production, we should also put the main emphasis on planned economy while bringing into play the supplementary role of regulation by market mechanism. Regulation by market mechanism can only play a supplementary role within the scope of the state plan. All localities and departments should be developed according to state plan, and the important ones should be developed before the less important ones. Only thus can we integrate immediate interests with long-term interests, partial interests with general interests, and build our country well.

By putting the state plan and the general interests in first position, we do not mean exercising rigid control. We have been exercising rigid control in many branches of work. Ours is such a vast country with so much work to do and such complicated economic problems to deal with that no one can know everything. Under the present administrative system, it is impossible to exercise rigid control without clearly understanding the overall situation. We should not adopt the method of exercising rigid control; we should adopt the method of unified leadership and decentralized management, which is a method compatible with dialectics. What does leadership mean? It means that unity should be achieved in determination, understanding, making of principles and policies, and formulation of a plan in major matters, while decentralization should be practiced in business management and handling of other matters. Our party has always acted in this way. We are not supernatural. How can we do everything in a unified manner? The party has stated many times that unity is stressed only in leadership and that business management should be conducted in a decentralized manner and administrative matters handled by different levels. We should not fear the word "decentralization." It means the taking of responsibility by different levels or individuals. We only oppose decentralism, not decentralization. For example, in a campaign or battle, there must be a unified operational plan and a centralized command, but our forces should be dispersed, that is, decentralized operations are needed. Only in this way can we concentrate our forces to annihilate the enemy. For another example, when there are 100 people among us making an excursion to Xiangshan Hill, we should go in groups, one group taking one car and another group taking another car. This is dialectics in daily life. This is quite simple and there is nothing mystical about it. We know how to fight a battle and make an excursion. Why can we not act in the same way when we deal with economic problems? Why do we not understand this simple piece of reasoning? The method of leadership consists of two principles. The first principle calls for unified leadership and decentralized management. The second principle requires that one make investigations before one issues orders. An enlightened leader is one who devotes the greater part of his energy to making investigations, devising strategies, and considering problems concerning the line, principles and policies.

Our leading cadres at all levels should prove themselves to be enlightened leaders. They should investigate conditions, put forth suggestions and work out methods. They should assign concrete tasks to the lower level instead of taking everything into their own hands. For example, when housing is assigned in some administrative organs, why should the leaders do the assigning instead of letting the masses take charge? Why are the leaders, and not the experts and the masses, asked to examine literary and art performances? Work concerning the masses should be assigned to the masses. Why should our enterprises establish the system governing the workers' congresses and take the mass line? The reason is that when work concerning the masses is assigned to the masses, it will be possible to develop democracy in management and arouse the enthusiasm of the masses for managing their own affairs. Moreover, the masses are collectively wiser than any one of us, and only by pooling their wisdom can we do our work well. This is the method of leadership taught by Comrade Mao Zedong. We must be enlightened leaders and must not get bogged down in routine matters.

The key to accelerating industrial development lies in raising the labor productivity of enterprises. We should not confine our attention to demanding more investment from the state. It will not do if we place our hopes chiefly on the increase in state investment. At present, the state has limited revenues but heavy financial burdens so that there is not much money in the state coffers. If we do not place our hopes chiefly on the increase in state investment and if we do not demand investment from the state, are there any other methods? Yes, there are--such as increasing bank loans, raising funds by various means, actively making use of foreign capital, and so forth. There are many other things which the collective enterprises should be encouraged and guided to do.

Some comrades say that the labor productivity of our industrial enterprises is low because they are backward technologically, their equipment and installations are outmoded, and their working conditions are poor. We must admit that some of their equipment and installations are really outmoded. But we should look at this point analytically. We must see that some factories have highly advanced equipment and installations but poor management. In many more factories the cadres are lax in maintaining good morale and are seriously imbued with bureaucratism, and the workers ignore labor discipline, make no distinction between good and bad, and go in for egalitarianism. This is the basic cause of low labor productivity. At present, emphasis should be laid on strengthening ideological education, improving business management, strictly observing labor discipline and studying new techniques. With regard to the backward equipment and installations, our policy is to conduct technical renovation by the method of "walking on two legs," that is, in the first place, it is necessary to use a certain amount of capital funds to carry out some medium-scale technical renovations and systematically carry out major technical renovations. In the second place, it is necessary to arouse the masses to carry forward the aspirations of the Chinese working class and carry out minor technical renovations without asking the state to make investments. We should take this as a major principle and a resounding slogan for tapping potential and carrying out technical renovation. Some outmoded equipment and installations should be renovated step by step by



mobilizing the technicians and workers of an enterprise to work hard and rely on their own efforts, so as to launch a mass campaign of renovating outmoded equipment and installations. Once the masses are aroused to put forth suggestions, there will be unfathomable potential for carrying out minor technical renovations without asking the state to make investments! This kind of mass campaign for promoting production should be launched to develop the national economy.

All economic departments should pay particular attention to the question of labor productivity. According to incomplete statistics, in the first 11 months of 1981, labor productivity in state-owned industrial enterprises dropped by 3.2 percent, profits dropped by 8.4 percent, the amount of floating capital increased by 1.8 percent, and production costs rose by 1.1 percent as compared with the figures for the same period of 1980. We should understand that a difference of 1 percent in labor productivity means a difference of 4 to 5 billion yuan in total industrial output value. This fact shows that although we have been talking about straightening out our industrial enterprises for 3 years, labor productivity has not changed for the better. This is a very serious problem which exists extensively in the country. It shows that we have not effectively straightened out our industrial enterprises. Of course, there are many reasons why labor productivity remains low. An important reason is that this problem has not been grasped seriously and pointed out clearly. In many enterprises at present, this problem has been dealt with not by increasing ideological consciousness, strictly enforcing labor discipline and improving business management, and asking the leading cadres and party members to take exemplary action to influence the masses, but by indiscriminately paying bonuses, going in for unhealthy practices and fleecing the state in the name of looking after the interests of the masses. This method will not work. Raising labor productivity is a major problem concerning the future of our country's socialist cause. The party Central Committee has seriously put this problem to the whole party and the working class of the whole country. Above all, we should tell the masses clearly and precisely about the drastic decline in labor productivity in industrial enterprises. In many localities at present, the authorities neither tell the masses about this situation nor report on it to the higher level. They even try to cover up this situation for different "reasons." Obviously they are wrong. How can this problem be solved without bringing it to the attention of the whole party and the working class? What are the key links in solving this problem? First, the leading cadres should display their revolutionary spirit, go deep into reality and improve business management by all possible means. Second, the role of engineers and technicians should be brought into play by giving them more respect and greater power and arousing their enthusiasm. Third, the broad masses of workers should be aroused to display their sense of responsibility as "masters of the house." We believe that the overwhelming majority of workers in our country, and old workers, model workers as well as advanced workers in particular, have the socialist consciousness. Provided our party committees at all levels point out this problem clearly and grasp it seriously and arouse the broad masses of workers and technicians to action, it will definitely be possible to change the condition of low labor productivity in the industrial enterprises of our country. We must be determined, with the effort of the whole party and by relying on the broad masses of workers and staff members, to strive for a marked increase in labor productivity in the near future.

IT IS A GREAT STRATEGIC TASK TO STRENGTHEN THE EDUCATION OF STAFF AND WORKERS IN REALIZING THE FOUR MODERNIZATIONS

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[Special commentary by Yuan Baohua [5913 1405 5478]]

[Text] In February of last year, the CCP Central Committee and the State Council made the "decision concerning strengthening the education of staff and workers." This is a great strategic decision in China's four modernizations. It has great practical significance and far-reaching historical significance in realizing the policy of readjusting the national economy and the policy of maintaining stability and unity and building a high degree of socialist material and spiritual civilization.

I

The education of staff and workers is a reliable guarantee for continuing the development of the national economy. Marxist political economics maintains that the development of social productive forces relies on man's mastery and application of cultural and scientific knowledge. One outstanding characteristic in the development of modern economy is the large increase in the proportion of the labor force which has received a high degree of various types of training. The inevitable trend of the development of production is more outstanding in highly industrialized capitalist countries. Take the United States for example. From 1900 to 1976, the number of specialized technicians and management personnel rose from 17.6 percent to 49.9 percent of the total number of its staff and workers. Great changes took place in the quality and structure of staff and workers. The quality of the labor force was greatly improved, and this promoted a rapid increase in the economy. Viewed from the Marxist theory of reproduction, the education of staff and workers occupies a very important position and role in economic construction. In carrying out modernization and persistently developing the national economy, we must persistently expand reproduction and constantly raise the level of productive forces. Insofar as enlarged reproduction is concerned, it includes the reproduction of material goods as well as the reproduction of the labor force. In this respect, the education of staff and workers is an important aspect in socialist enlarged reproduction. In the past, we paid attention to the reproduction of material goods but did not pay enough attention to the physical strength of workers and to the training and

improving of their intelligence, whereas the labor force is the most active factor in productive forces. Machinery and equipment are made by man and operated by man. We should closely combine the all-round training and improving of worker intelligence with the production of material goods, and place the development of production and the education of the staff and workers in equally important positions. Marx pointed out: "To change the character of common people so as to make them obtain skills and techniques in certain labor departments and become a developed and specialized labor force requires a certain education or training." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 195) In the past when we talked about expanding reproduction, what first came to mind was to increase the labor force, investments and equipment. Quite often we only thought of expanding reproduction by means of extension. We did not pay attention to enhancing the quality and efficiency of the workers. Nor did we pay attention to tapping the potential of enterprises, to their innovations and restructuring. According to statistics, 80 percent of the investment for tapping potential and for innovations and restructuring is used for the extension of enlarged reproduction, and only 20 percent is used for the renewal and technical innovations of fixed assets. China's original industrial foundation was weak, and it was necessary to first expand reproduction by means of extension. But in our current modernization program, we must fully utilize the present industrial foundation, lay stress on the technical innovations and the renewal of equipment of existing enterprises, on improving the management and technological process, and on raising the skills and techniques of the workers. We must continue to get deeply involved in production and enable enlarged reproduction to play the dominant role. Only in this way can we have higher quality with less investment and greater economic returns with lower consumption, and can the people's livelihood improve gradually.

Lenin once pointed out: "Communism means labor productivity which is higher than that of capitalism and which is created by the workers who use advanced technology, who are voluntary and who are united." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 16) The raising of labor productivity is decided by various factors, of which the main one is "the average level of skills mastered by the workers, the level of scientific development and its technological use, the social combination of the production process, the scale and effect of the means of production and the natural conditions." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 53) Here Marx put "the average level of skills mastered by the workers" in first place. One important reason why China's present labor productivity is low is that the educational and technological level of the laborers is low. Therefore, if we want to raise labor productivity, we must strengthen the education of the staff and workers, raise their educational and technological level, and change latent productive forces into actual productive forces. Generally speaking, to master modern technology in production, the workers must have a middle-level specialized education. Viewed from technological requirements, the higher the educational level of the workers is, the higher the rate of production quotas will be and the more the constructive suggestions and creations and invention will be. Some industrially advanced countries like the United States, Japan and the Soviet Union regard the development of education as an important factor in economic growth. They energetically develop the

educational cause along with developing the economy. They strengthen the training of staff and workers. In our country, some enterprises have also done a good job in educating staff and workers, and this has promoted the development of production. The Taiyuan Iron and Steel Company began to train all its personnel in 1978. In the past few years, because the educational, scientific and technological levels of staff and workers has been enhanced, the production of enterprises has rapidly taken on a new look and new records have been established in the eight economic and technological indexes. In 1979, it was cited as an advanced unit in the metallurgical industry. From experience they realized: "We cannot produce superior quality steel without first having acquired qualified personnel through training." Marx pointed out long ago that the technological level of the population is the prerequisite for the entire production and therefore is the main accumulation of wealth. This truth has been proved more and more in production practice. But some comrades have not fully understood the importance of the education of staff and workers; quite often they separate the education of staff and workers from the development of production and the economy, or they even make the two antagonistic. They fail to see the gravity of the situation in which the educational and technological level of our country's staff and workers is not in conformity with the requirements for modernization; therefore, they think that production can be developed without paying attention to the education of staff and workers. If this erroneous view is not corrected, it will inevitably exert a bad influence on production and construction and on the enhancement of the understanding of staff and workers.

## II

Our party and government have always attached great importance to the education of staff and workers. They also have a fine tradition in educating staff and workers well. As early as the revolutionary war years, we carried out various forms of education and training for the cadres and for staff and workers by starting from the wartime conditions and the needs in struggle. Since the founding of new China, following the rehabilitation and development of the national economy, the party and government have issued instructions many times and paid great attention to the part-time education of staff and workers. Good results have been achieved. According to incomplete statistics, in the 17 years before the "Great Cultural Revolution," illiteracy was wiped out on a large scale. More than 2.9 million staff members and workers reached the level of 6 years of primary schooling, 960,000 finished part-time secondary schools and 200,000 graduated from part-time institutions of higher learning. In 1965, the number of persons who had studied in various staff and workers' part-time schools of various grades reached more than 17 million. This raised the educational and technological level of our country's staff and workers. Some of them became key leaders and fine specialized personnel on various fronts. They made important contributions to our socialist construction. But owing to the influence of the "leftist" ideology, particularly owing to the disruption caused by the 10 years of turmoil, the education of staff and workers suffered serious destruction. There has been a certain rehabilitation and development in recent years, but it has not attained the past level. It is still an



arduous task to train all personnel and to establish a regular system of educating staff and workers. The organizations and institutions for the education of staff and workers have not been adequately perfected. The training targets, teaching plans (programs) and examination methods of various staff and worker schools are not adequately explicit and unified. Some specific policies and stipulations remain to be implemented and the conditions for running schools remain to be improved. These problems must be gradually solved.

We should understand that the obstacle to strengthening the education of staff and workers is that some leading comrades do not fully understand the important position and role of this education in the four modernizations. Therefore, they do not grasp the work firmly and are slack in their work and lack a sense of urgency. In modern construction, the results of science and technology are rapidly applied in production. New technology, new products and new equipment develop more and more rapidly. Production technology is constantly being innovated and new trades are constantly emerging. The progress of science and technology has given the education of staff and workers a new role and new content. The number of technical personnel in some industrially developed countries generally is more than 30 percent of the total number of staff members and workers. But the number of engineering technical personnel is only 3 percent of the total number of staff members and workers. We must wipe out the longstanding erroneous view that despises education, science and culture and that discriminates against intellectuals. We must energetically raise the position and role of the education of staff and workers in our modernization, adopt effective measures to strengthen the education of staff and workers, improve the quality of our country's staff and workers, and train a staff-worker contingent which has scientific and cultural knowledge and which has specialized techniques and management experience to suit the needs of the four modernizations.

Strengthening the education of staff and workers is an important part of realizing economic readjustment. Readjustment is an important measure that must be adopted for rationalizing the economic structure, and training is an important part of realizing this measure. We must give regular education in a planned way to large numbers of cadres, staff members and workers in order to raise their political, cultural, technological and management levels. In the readjustment period, we must readjust the proportional relationships between the education of staff and workers and the national economy, as well as the proportional relationships within the education itself. In the past, the plans for the educational cause and the plans for the national economy were seriously out of proportion. The funds for education only accounted for a very small percentage in the national economy, and the funds for the education of the staff and workers were even less. Based on the requirements of the party Central Committee, we must readjust the proportional relationships between the plans for economic construction and the plans for social development (the plans for developing education, science and technology, culture and public health) and appropriately increase the funds for education within the frame of the state's financial resources. We must understand that investment in education is a productive investment. This is an intelligent investment from which good economic returns can be obtained.

It is wrong to regard the investment in the education of staff and workers as merely a consumption investment.

The internal structure and proportional relationships of the staff and workers educational cause must also be readjusted. For instance, the higher education of staff and workers was once carried out blindly. Some units adopted the method of "saddling the horse after mounting." Many factories ran their part-time schools on the basis of one factory running one school and one school having one class. Through preliminary readjustment, the quality of teaching was improved, but some problems must be further studied and solved. The contents of the education of staff and workers are complicated, and they involve an extensive range of knowledge. In our practical work, we must pay attention to the readjustment and handling of the following relationships: starting from the practical conditions that the foundation of the education of staff and workers is weak, we must handle well the relationships between opening up roads for schooling, the forms of running schools, and the gradual establishment of a comparatively regular system for the education of staff and workers; we must handle well the relationships between the training of all personnel and the running of key classes, as those who receive education are large in numbers and the task is complicated; we must handle well the relationships between popularization and enhancement and between basic and specialized education, as the people undergoing education have different levels of culture and technical knowledge and are engaged in different vocations; and the staff and workers who attend part-time schools have to handle correctly the relationships between study and production (work). In short, through readjustment we must put the education of staff and workers into the plans for the national economy and the plans for the educational cause, and gradually regularize the education.

Strengthening the education of staff and workers is needed to change the structure of China's cadre contingent. In our modernization work, we should have a revolutionized and young cadre contingent which has specialized skills and knowledge. But of the 20 million cadres who are not engaged in production, only a few have a high level of educational and technical knowledge, and those who are in the prime of life and understand modern management are even fewer in number. If this situation is not changed, it will be very hard for them to lead the work of modernization. To solve this problem, we must, when supplementing the number of cadres, energetically strengthen the specialized training of the cadres we currently have, besides selecting cadres who have high political, educational and vocational levels. In particular, we must have long-range plans and carry out training of fine middle-aged and young cadres so that they can become specialized personnel who have both ability and political integrity.

The education of staff and workers must be carried out under the principle of "walking on two legs." On the one hand, full-time institutes of higher learning should train and provide personnel, and on the other hand, we should open up all possible roads for schooling and carry out all forms of training of employed cadres. Practice has proved that the education of staff and workers is one of the important methods for training construction personnel faster, better and with more economic results. At present, of the nearly

400,000 industrial and communications enterprises, about 50 percent have run various types of staff and worker schools or training courses. The number of participants is about 10 million. In 1980, the number of students studying in the staff and worker institutions of higher learning was about 500,000, half of the number of students studying in the full-time institutions of higher learning. Most of the graduates of the staff and worker institutions of higher learning are in charge of technical and management work in factories, mines and enterprises, and some of them have become key leading cadres. Take, for example, the Shenyang No 1 Machine Tool Plant. Sixty percent of the cadres at the factory level, 70 percent of the middle-level cadres, the general designer, the general art designer, the general accountant and some engineers and technicians were trained and brought up by the education of staff and workers.

Facts have proved that strengthening the education of staff and workers is a strategic task in realizing the four modernizations as well as a task of top priority. Leading comrades at all levels must understand the importance and urgency of the education of staff and workers. The period for training personnel is long. There is an old Chinese saying: "It takes only 10 years to grow trees, but 100 years to rear people." This shows that the training of personnel and the building of socialist spiritual civilization is a long-term hard struggle. We must take a broad and long-term view, make overall plans, strengthen leadership, and really implement the task of developing intelligence and training personnel in every unit. If we grasp the education of staff and workers early, we will be in an active position, but if we grasp it late, we will be in a passive position. If we do not grasp it at all, it will be very hard for us to master advanced technology and equipment in order to build and manage well modern enterprises. It will be even harder to raise labor productivity by a large margin, and we will delay the great cause of four modernizations and commit historical mistakes.

### III

The education of staff and workers is an important component part in building socialist spiritual civilization. In realizing its great historical mission of communism, the working class undertakes the double task of building a high level of material and spiritual civilization. Just as Comrade Mao Zedong said, we not only want to build a politically democratic and economically prosperous China, "but also want to change an ignorant and backward China because of old cultural domination into a civilized and advanced China which is under new cultural domination." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 624)

China has 100 million staff and workers. Their level of education, understanding of cultural and scientific knowledge, ideological values and morality are an important way of measuring the level of socialist spiritual civilization. How the education of staff and workers is carried out has a direct bearing on the great cause of building socialist spiritual civilization and on the great cause of whether socialist modernization will be successful. China's staff and worker contingent is essentially good. Especially in the recent years since the smashing of the "gang of four,"

this contingent has exerted itself spiritually, restored and developed the spirit of going all out, and progressed. The great majority of staff and workers are working in a down-to-earth manner for the realization of the four modernizations. But we must understand that because the 10 years of turmoil confused the people's ideology and confused ideological and political work, the education of staff and workers has been relaxed, the ideology of some staff members and workers is not healthy enough, and they have poor knowledge, low socialist consciousness and lack a sense of responsibility. They do not understand the glorious traditions of China's working class, do not understand the historical mission of the world proletariat. Through various forms we must strengthen propaganda and education on Marxist-Leninist basic theory, education on the history and glorious revolutionary traditions of the working class, and education on the historical mission of China's working class, and raise their socialist ideological consciousness to enable the staff and worker contingent to keep and develop the character and nature that the working class should have and to resist the corrosive influence of nonproletarian ideology; we must also instruct and educate the staff and workers to study hard scientific and cultural knowledge and to master technology so that they can become both Red and expert. Lenin pointed out: "Without knowledge, the workers will not be able to carry out self-defense; with knowledge, they will be powerful!" ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 2, p 68) China's working class, which is working hard for the realization of the four modernizations, must not only master the skills needed for carrying out the four modernizations, but also become the main force in building socialist spiritual civilization. They should foster the great ideals of communism, develop socialist new morals and new habits, and make contributions to building socialist spiritual civilization!

Summing up what has been mentioned above, strengthening the education of staff and workers is a great strategic task in realizing the four modernizations. At present, we must implement the principle of giving training to all personnel in the education of staff and workers, make full use of the economic readjustment, and make all-round plans and overall arrangements. In the coming few years, the vocational training of leading cadres and the making up of technological lessons for young staff members and workers who came to factories since the "Great Cultural Revolution" should be stressed in the education of staff and workers. We must energetically think of how to make a policy that is beneficial to the three initiatives of mobilizing the leading authorities to run schools, teachers to teach, and staff and workers to study hard. We must combine the study with the personal interests of staff and workers. We should gradually establish a regular system of giving training and examinations to the staff and workers and put their study records into the educational and technological files to be used as an important reference for upgrading, promoting and selecting advanced personnel. In this way we can create the conditions for reforming our labor system and cadre system. We must gradually improve the conditions for running schools, energetically build a teacher contingent and training bases for the education of the staff and workers, and gradually standardize the plans for training teachers. The staff and worker part-time schools at all levels must strengthen teaching management, build and perfect their rules and regulations, and constantly raise the quality of teaching.



Heavy responsibilities must be shouldered in the education of staff and workers. The education of staff and workers has good prospects. According to the requirements of the decisions made by the party Central Committee and the State Council on strengthening the education of staff and workers, we must unswervingly carry the education through ideologically, in a planned way, organizationally and with measures, and really strengthen the education of staff and workers. We must bring into full play the initiatives of the trades union, the CYL, the women's federation, and the scientific and technological association, work hard together, do a good job in the education of staff and workers, and make new contributions to the training of large numbers of qualified personnel needed for the four modernizations!

CSO: 4004/31

IT IS IMPERATIVE TO UPHOLD THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF MARX' THEORY OF REPRODUCTION--PART ONE

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[Article by Deng Liqun [6772 0500 5028]]

[Text] Editor's note: This article by Comrade Deng Liqun integrates historical experience with the current actual situation, expounds the basic principles of Marx' theory of reproduction, upholds the importance of these principles, and is helpful to the vast numbers of cadres in their study of and research on economic theory. The article consists of three parts. The first part expounds the idea that dividing social production into two major categories is an important premise of Marx' theory of reproduction. The second part expounds the idea that coordination between the two major categories is a basic condition for the normal progress of social reproduction. The third part expounds the idea that it is a general law governing expanded reproduction that priority must be given to producing the means of production. In this issue we publish the first part, and the other two parts will be published in the coming two issues.

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, in order to correctly sum up the experiences of our country's socialist construction and to enable our national economic readjustment to be smoothly carried out, a continuously increasing number of comrades have been consciously studying, or have been restudying, Marx' theory of reproduction. In 1980, to facilitate this study, the Research Office of the CCP Central Committee Secretariat organized several economic theorists to compile a book, entitled "Studying Marx' Theory of Reproduction," which contains excerpts from the principal contents of volume two of "Das Kapital." This book of excerpts is very difficult to understand. This was anticipated even when the book was being compiled. Therefore, the economic theorists were requested to write three easily understood articles which concisely sum up the book. Even with these articles, it is still difficult to study the theory. However, based on the requirements of practical economic work, it is not enough for the leading

comrades at various levels who do economic work to study the book of excerpts alone. It is most desirable for them to study the whole of "Das Kapital," volume two, and also to strive to understand it thoroughly. The reason why this is necessary is very simple. An important reason for the numerous mistakes we committed in our economic work in the past was our lack of understanding of Marx' theory of reproduction. Some comrades say that advocating the study of Marx' theory of reproduction is an idea divorced from reality and that it is unnecessary to study this theory. We must not accept this view.

The overwhelming majority of those comrades who, over the past year and more, have conscientiously studied the theory of reproduction, feel that the study of this theory has greatly enhanced their ability to understand and solve problems, and that it is quite necessary to continue to organize this kind of study. However, a handful of comrades are skeptical about, or even object to, certain basic principles of Marx' theory of reproduction. In July of last year, at the graduation ceremony of the 10th enterprise management study class run by the State Economic Commission, I expressed disagreement with the view of this handful of comrades. I talked very briefly about this because of inadequate preparation and time limitation. I will now discuss the question in greater detail.

#### I. Dividing Social Production Into Two Major Categories Is an Important Premise of Marx' Theory of Reproduction

Superficially, social production is the sum total of the production activities of numerous enterprises. These enterprises are divided into various trades and sectors. Can we base our revelation of the laws governing social reproduction activities on a categorization according to trades and sectors? No, we cannot. According to the difference in the use values of various products, Marx divided the totality of social products into the means of production and the means of subsistence, and then divided social production into two major categories, namely, production of the means of production and production of the means of subsistence. It is to make possible the renewal of production that we must have both the means of production and the means of subsistence, and moreover, an appropriate ratio should be maintained between them. Only thus can the workers and capitalists of the two categories in capitalist society acquire the consumer goods needed for reproduction; only thus can the capitalists obtain the means of production needed for reproduction; and only thus can the reproduction of social capital be carried out. Therefore, the laws governing social reproduction activities are also the natural relationships between the two major sectors which produce these two categories of products.

Lenin highly appraised this categorization by Marx. He said: "The basic premises on which Marx' theory is based are the following two principles. First, in a capitalist country, the total product, like an individual product, is composed of the following three parts: 1) invariable capital; 2) variable capital; and 3) extra value.... The second principle is that capitalist production must be divided into two major categories. The first category is production of goods which are used for consumption in

production and used as an input in production. These goods are not used for personal consumption, but are used for the consumption of capital. The second category is production of consumer goods, that is, goods used for personal consumption." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 3, p 31; note that "extra value" is synonymous with surplus value) Please note that the division of production into the two major categories is not only one of the "basic premises" of the theory of reproduction, but is also in itself a principle of this theory. According to logic, a "premise" is a known judgment for inference. If this judgment is wrong, subsequent judgments and even the whole process of inference will certainly be invalid.

Before the emergence of Marxism, none of the economists, including the most outstanding ones, made a scientific categorization of the total social product, and hence of the overall social production. Therefore, they could not scientifically explain the process of social reproduction.

Francois Quesnay, the representative of the French school of physiocrats, had made an attempt in this respect and had put forth some original views. Marx said that the fruit of his attempt "is an extremely ingenious idea. Undoubtedly, it is the most ingenious idea which has hitherto been put forth in political economics." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, part I, p 366) In his "Tableau Economique," Quesnay described the exchange between the three classes: the farmowners whose land was on lease, the landowners, and the "unproductive classes" (capitalists and workers). However, as pointed out by some people, this exchange only amounted to an exchange between two sectors: agriculture and industry. Because of this method of categorization, his analysis of the reproduction of social capital encountered grave difficulties from the start. The economists after Quesnay, such as Adam Smith, even slipped back compared with Quesnay. Adam Smith not only failed to rectify the defect in Quesnay's analysis, but even excluded invariable capital from the value of commodities (the commodities constituting the annual social product). He held that the value of a commodity is made up of wages, profit and rent, or, in other words, can be split up into  $v + m$ . This made the path to understanding the process of social reproduction even less accessible.

By breaking through Quesnay's limitations and correcting Smith's mistake, Marx could build a scientific theory of reproduction which is applicable not only to the capitalist economy but also to other socioeconomic forms. The basic premises of Marx' theory of reproduction form an important part of his theory of reproduction. Any attempt to separate these premises from the theory of reproduction will inevitably lead to deviation from Marx' theory of reproduction. This is true of both the analysis of the reproduction of social capital and the analysis of socialist reproduction.

In exercising leadership over the Russian people in carrying out economic construction, Lenin analyzed the industrial structure by categorizing production into agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. He said in a speech: "To save Russia, it is not sufficient to rely on bumper harvests in agriculture alone, or to rely solely on a good situation in light industry which provides the peasants with consumer goods. We must also have our heavy industry." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 385)



First of all, we should say that Lenin's method of categorization differs from Quesnay's method, because the distinction between light industry and heavy industry is based on differences in the use value of products, rather than on different sectors of production. Light industrial products are basically means of subsistence, and heavy industrial products are basically means of production. Therefore, the relationship between light industry and heavy industry is basically tantamount to the relationship between two categories: the production of the means of subsistence and the production of the means of production. As to agriculture, if production is not highly developed, the overwhelming majority of agricultural products can either be directly used for consumption or can be used for consumption after simple processing work. Thus, agriculture can basically be regarded as belonging to the second category. Therefore, we must not sweepingly say that it is incorrect to divide production into agriculture, light industry and heavy industry as a way of categorization.

Second, Lenin also said at that time that what was called heavy industrial production, such as mining and metallurgical production, should be called the production of the means of production in the terminology of political economics. (see "Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 369) Obviously, in Lenin's view, the categorization of production into agriculture, light industry and heavy industry was, after all, different from the categorization into the two major categories, and therefore heavy industrial production could not be substituted for the production of the means of production. If we say that in the past the relationship between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry basically reflected the relationship between the two major categories, then, in recent years, the gap between these two has been continuously widening. Considering the heavy industrial sector, at present not only can many products produced by enterprises belonging to the heavy industrial sector be directly used for personal consumption, but many heavy industrial enterprises are also producing various daily necessities. Many products from the light industrial sector are also means of production, such as fabrics, felt, leather products, ceramics, porcelainware, and enamelware, which are for industrial use. In particular, since the appearance of new industries such as the plastic materials and synthetic fibers industries, light industry and the textile industry have also served the metallurgical, mining, chemical, machine-building and electrical industries, and so on, by providing many new materials with special properties which are used to help complete the production processes. That is to say, heavy industry and light industry are merging with each other, and it is becoming increasingly difficult to distinctly separate them. As for agriculture, in today's developed capitalist countries, there are extremely few agricultural products which are directly used for consumption without undergoing industrial processing. In our country, the proportion of agricultural products used as industrial raw materials is becoming increasingly high. To sum up, the drawing of a distinction between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry has been increasingly substantially divorced from the use (that is, use value) of the products. This has actually been increasingly owing to the need to separately control various enterprises on the basis of different sectors. In these circumstances, if we continue to rigidly adhere

to the drawing of this distinction, our economic work, in particular our planning and statistical work, will no longer be scientific.

In the past we believed that the two major categories of social production were not abstract and they specifically existed in each production sector. Thus the relationship between the two major categories has to be embodied in the relationship between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. Actually, the relationship between the drawing of a distinction between the two major categories and the drawing of a distinction between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry is not a matter of one being abstract and the other being concrete; these are just different ways of categorizing the same thing, social production. The categories involved in these two ways of drawing a distinction have, as a rule, been derived through abstraction and summing up. When we draw a distinction between the production of the means of production and the production of the means of subsistence, we single out two different characteristics from the social products, and hence from social production, namely, being used for production and being used for consumption. Then we consider the production of all social products in terms of these characteristics. As to the drawing of a distinction between agriculture, light industry and heavy industry, as we have said, agricultural products include both the means of subsistence and the means of production. The same reasoning also applies to light industry and heavy industry. If the two major categories concretely exist and can be reflected in a concrete way, then their existence is reflected in all the products of the two major categories and the production of these products.

Does this then imply that the national economy cannot be divided into different sectors and cannot be studied on the basis of various sectors? No, it does not. It is quite necessary to divide the national economy into sectors and to study it on this basis. In fact, this kind of study is being carried out. For example, under the Academy of Social Sciences, there are an industrial economic research institute, an agricultural economic research institute, an economic research institute for finance, trade and material resources, and so on, which respectively study industry, agriculture, finance and trade, and so on. Some colleges also provide specialist courses to train specialist cadres for various economic sectors. However, these belong to the realm of sector economics. These studies constitute a task of sector economics, not of political economics. Therefore, categorization on the basis of sectors of production should not be taken as the premise for the theory of reproduction, which is an important part of political economics.

Neither does this imply that when we plan the industrial organizational structure and the composition of enterprises, it is not necessary to divide production into sectors under each category. Actually, in "Das Kapital," Marx said: "Each of these two categories embraces various sectors of production. All these sectors together form a single and large sector of production, one of which being the sector which produces the means of production, and the other being that which produces the means of subsistence." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 24, p 439) However, these sectors of production, divided according to the two major categories, differ in

some ways from the sectors categorized as agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. According to the method of dividing production into two major categories, some of our enterprises might have to be readjusted, shifting from one sector to the other, and the sectors might also have to undergo changes. Some enterprises which produce both means of production and means of subsistence might change to being specialized in one category in the course of the development of cooperation between specialized enterprises. Some enterprises need not and cannot specialize in one category. They might be included in appropriate sectors according to the main use of their products. This change is actually a readjustment of the industrial organizational structure and the structure of enterprises, and is a very complicated matter. When we effect this readjustment, we must not only have specific plans for implementation, but must also be prepared to solve numerous practical problems. Therefore, we cannot effect this readjustment in isolation so that it is divorced from our national economic readjustment or the reform of our economic system.

Quite a few comrades disagree with the idea of adopting the so-called "classification of production into primary, secondary and tertiary industries" to substitute for or "supplement" the division of production into two major categories. This is not only because the theoretical basis of "classification into primary, secondary and tertiary industries" is a vulgar theory of value, but also because this classification itself is extremely confused. For example, the so-called "tertiary industry" generally includes public utilities such as transportation, communications, the power industry, coal gas production, water supply, warehousing and so on; such trades as commerce, financial business, insurance, entertainment, catering, tourism and so on; as well as scientific research, education, the press, radio and television, and even administrative, military and judicial organs, and so on. Some of these, such as transportation, belong to sectors of material production. However, the majority belong to sectors of nonmaterial production. As for administration, military activities, entertainment and so on, these cannot even be called economic sectors. Thus, this classification simply cannot reveal the laws governing social reproduction.

Since the founding of Marx' theory of reproduction, the world economy has undergone drastic changes, such as the appearance of the socialist economy and the formation and development of state monopoly capitalism. The relative importance of commerce, finance and business, transportation and communications, municipal public amenities, catering, service trades, tourism and so on in the national economy has greatly increased; and this should also be regarded as a change, which is, moreover, a very marked one. Let us look at the "service sector" (including transportation and communications, posts and telecommunications, commerce, banking and insurance, repair and maintenance of domestic buildings, family service trades, "social management businesses" undertaken by enterprises outside productive sectors, and so on) of several principal capitalist countries. The proportion of those employed in the "service sector," as a percentage of the total number of people employed, was: for the United States, 55 percent in 1952, 58 percent in 1960 and 62 percent in 1970; for the United Kingdom, 46 percent in 1952, 47 percent in 1960 and 50 percent in 1970; for West Germany, 33 percent in 1950,

37 percent in 1960 and 42 percent in 1970; for France, 35 percent in 1950, 39 percent in 1960 and 49 percent in 1970; and for Japan, 29 percent in 1950, 40 percent in 1960 and 47 percent in 1970.

Marx said: "If the quantity of products remains constant, the smaller a country's productive population as a proportion of its nonproductive population, the richer will be the country. This is because the relatively small size of its productive population is merely an indication of a relatively high labor productivity." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 26, part I, p 229) The level of development of our country's productive forces is low. The proportion of people engaged in commerce, services and so on should not and cannot be as high as in developed capitalist countries. However, with the development of production, the number of workers in these sectors should correspondingly increase and they should gradually constitute an increasingly higher percentage of the entire working population. However, this was not the case with our country in past years. Statistics have revealed the following changes in the percentages of workers in our country who belong to several specified sectors (under the ownership of the whole people).

The sectors are: (A) communications and transportation, posts and telecommunications; (B) commerce, catering and service trades; (C) municipal public utilities; and (D) scientific research, cultural services, education, medical and health services.

The percentages are:

	(A)	(B)	(C)	(D)
1949	8.0	15.7	0.4	14.7
1952	7.2	18.5	0.3	15.1
1957	6.8	19.9	0.9	13.4
1958	5.6	10.0	0.6	8.3
1965	6.6	14.7	1.2	14.3
1976	6.3	13.0	1.2	11.7
1978	6.0	13.0	1.3	12.6

The low percentages of workers in these sectors indicate that the development of these sectors has been quite incompatible with the development of the entire national economy. The consequences have inevitably been very undesirable. It is absolutely necessary to stress the development of these sectors. Actually, we have considered it an important task of national economic readjustment to end the relative backwardness of these sectors. After several years of efforts in this direction, marked results have been achieved. Of course, progress is still quite inadequate and we should continue to make efforts.

Is the relative backwardness of these sectors owing to not using the "method of dividing production into primary, secondary and tertiary industries" to substitute for or "supplement" the division of production into two major categories? Absolutely not. Everyone knows that although light industry is



"included" in the two major categories, it has been a weak link in our national economy. Even transportation and communications, which is classified as a "tertiary industry," and which is also "included" in the two major categories as part of heavy industry, is also relatively backward. Thus, the problem is owing to some other reason. The objective reason for the relative backwardness of these sectors is that in old China the economy was quite underdeveloped and the broad masses of people lived a life of hardship, being inadequately fed and clothed. After the overthrow of the reactionary rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, and after the founding of the PRC, while we carried out the socialist transformation whereby the system of private ownership was replaced by public ownership, we devoted strenuous efforts to the restoration and development of industrial and agricultural production. This was absolutely correct. The reason is very simple. Considering the relationship between production and exchange, we know that only when many things are produced can exchange be expanded; only when people are adequately fed and clothed can we consider the satisfaction of other needs; and only when material production is well developed can there be favorable conditions for the development of science, education, medical and health services, art and so on. To sum up, as Marx said, the development of material production is the basis of overall social life and of the totality of real history. (Refer to "Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 23, p 204) Our weak point is that we have not gradually and correspondingly developed these sectors with the gradual development of industrial and agricultural production. We have not adequately paid attention to the role of these sectors in promoting industrial and agricultural production. Our view is seriously one-sided.

Some people hold the view that, at the time when Marx wrote "Das Kapital," certain sectors which are called "tertiary industries" were not yet well developed and were not very important, and therefore Marx did not include them in the two major categories in his categorization of production. This view probably represents a misunderstanding of the structure of "Das Kapital." Volume two of "Das Kapital" studies the process of circulation of industrial capital, and the consideration of various specific forms of capital is absolutely unnecessary. To study various specific forms of capital is a task of volume three. The classification of production into two major categories only deals with industrial capital and not the entire national economy, or even the whole society with its cultural and political realms. Did Marx simply ignore commercial capital, financial capital and so on? In fact, in volume three of "Das Kapital," nearly 400 pages were devoted to the study of such capital. We should say that Marx paid great attention to it. The question is that when we divide production into two major categories in studying the reproduction of social capital, we must definitely not consider such capital, because it is not industrial capital. Marx paid great attention to the differences between various types of capital, saying: "The most ridiculous view is to regard merchant capital--whether it appears in the form of capital for the trading of commodities or capital for use in monetary business--as a special variety of industrial capital, just as mining, agriculture, animal husbandry, manufacturing industries, transportation and so on are, by virtue of social division of labor, branches of industrial capital, and hence specific realms for investment of industrial capital." ("Collected

Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 25, p 361) When we divide social production into two major categories in our study of social reproduction, if we also consider nonproductive or even noneconomic sectors, we will only make a mess of the problems to be studied and will be unable to find the laws governing social reproduction.

Of course, this does not imply that the development of commerce, the financial sector, service trades and so on need not be coordinated with the development of industrial and agricultural production, or imply that there is no need to maintain necessary proportional relationships between these sectors and industrial and agricultural production. Such relationships are necessary and it is very important to study them. However, they belong to the category of relationships between social production and other economic sectors, and do not belong to the category of relationships between different categories of social production.

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## HOW TO HELP CADRES STUDY THE THEORY OF REPRODUCTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 82 pp 26-28

[Article by Wang Jue [3769 3778] and Zang Zhifeng [5258 1807 7364]]

[Text] Since spring last year, the Party School of the CCP Central Committee has organized the sixth and seventh rotation training courses for senior and mid-level cadres to study the Marxist theory of production (with an outline from "Das Kapital," Vol 2, as the teaching material). Thanks to their efforts, these cadres have made fairly good achievements in their study. Based on teaching practice during this period, the following are our views on how to help cadres study the theory well.

### 1. Analyze the Cadres' Favorable Conditions To Help Them To Have Confidence in Their Study

In the past, these comrades studied very little of the Marxist theory of reproduction. Therefore, at the beginning of their study, they saw many difficulties and regarded the deep study of this theoretical book as unachievable and they were slightly terrified by the sight of the book. Therefore, first of all, it is necessary to help them to see in an overall way their favorable and unfavorable conditions in their study. That is to say, they must understand that there are difficulties in their study, but at the same time they must also understand that they have their own favorable conditions. Thus we can strengthen their confidence. According to our view, these comrades have the following three favorable factors in their study. First, they have rich practical experiences. Most of these cadres not only have experiences in revolutionary work and the management of political power but also in the socialist construction over the past 3 decades. It is true that many of them lack systematic thought with regard to these experiences and their understanding of the law of the movement of socialist economy is still vague, but their rich practical experiences are very useful in the study of economic theory. It is because the Marxist theory of reproduction is neither divorced from reality nor abstract, and because it is a theoretical generalization and summing up of the internal relations of objective economic movement, that it is applicable not only to capitalist socialized mass production but, with the exception of its capitalist nature, is also applicable to socialist socialized mass production. Therefore, it is not strange for them to study this. In particular, when their study is

related to our experiences and lessons in economic construction, they are able to have a deeper understanding of Marxist theory. Second, they have a strong desire to study and they are highly aware in study. Most of the cadres took part in the study courses with various specific problems that they met in their work and in their minds, and they hoped to find answers to these problems through theoretical study. They also hoped to find a theoretical basis for the party's policies and principles. These comrades regarded "Das Kapital" as the fruit of Marx' 40 years of hard work and the invaluable theoretical wealth left by the revolutionary teacher for the working class. They said that as veteran party members and cadres, "it is good for us to read even the basic classical works of the revolutionary teacher." Consequently, they have a definite goal in the study of the theory of reproduction, they urgently felt a need for such theory and they are highly conscious in their study. Third, they have a certain cultural level and theoretical foundation. These comrades have taken part in revolutionary works for decades. Some of them had very little education before joining the revolution, but after joining the revolutionary ranks most of them have been able to reach the cultural level of senior secondary education through self-study or various short-term training courses. They have come to understand basic Marxist-Leninist principles, have a fairly high level of understanding of policies and a strong ability to analyze problems.

The above-mentioned favorable conditions are the cadres' internal foundation for studying well the Marxist theory of reproduction. To clearly point out these favorable conditions is helpful in mobilizing these cadres' initiative in the study. At the same time, we also fully estimated their difficulties in reading this book and consequently we gave them coaching to help them display their advantages and overcome difficulties and shortcomings.

## 2. Grasp Basic Principles Through Reading Original Works

In "Das Kapital," Vol 2, Marx systematically and scientifically analyzed the law of capitalist reproduction and this is one of his brilliant contributions. But this volume was compiled by Engels according to Marx' manuscript after the latter had passed away. Some theses are quite dispersed. The outline is aimed at concentrating these theses, but still it has the features of a manuscript and, in addition, it is a translated version. Consequently, these cadres are not used to reading such a book. Therefore, another important problem that has to be resolved is how to help them grasp the main points in the course of reading, grasp basic principles and spend less time on minor questions. For this purpose, we compiled a coaching program with the outline of "Das Kapital," Vol 2. This program does not explain the original work paragraph by paragraph, nor is it divorced from an explanation of the principles of the work. On the contrary, it is based on the original work. First of all, it summarizes the contents of each article into several basic principles and then it basically follows the sequence of ideas of the original work to explicitly explain each basic principle. The explanations include major contents, practical significance and answers to questions. The main task of this coaching program is to draw out the basic viewpoints of the original work, explain the difficulties that are found in the process of reading it, expound the realistic significance of principles and help the



cadres to overcome obstacles in reading so that they will be able to grasp the core of the work from the point of combining theory with practice. Many comrades did not understand the book after their first reading, but when they read the book after reading the coaching program outline, they became more aware of the main points of the book. We also gave them coaching in class so that they would understand basic principles when they are listening or reading.

### 3. Correctly Understand the Method of Explaining Abstract Things in a Concrete Manner and Understand the Meanings of Symbols, Formulas and Concepts So As To Understand the Book

In the course of reading, the comrades find that, with the exception of a few sentences that are difficult to understand, they usually have the following two difficulties.

First, they are not accustomed to the Marxist method of explaining things by going from abstract to concrete forms. In our life, we usually come to know things by going from the concrete to the abstract. But when Marx was explaining the results of his theoretical study, he did so from the abstract to the concrete. Thus this method of explanation is contrary to our way of understanding things. Many comrades were not accustomed to this when they began their study and it seemed to them that Marx was explaining things in a roundabout way. Therefore, in the course of coaching, we explained to them that Marx used different methods in studying problems and explaining them. He did not just explain things repeatedly; he explained things from different aspects and used the method going from the abstract to the concrete. For example, the explanation of capital circulation in the first section is rather abstract and difficult to understand; the explanation of capital turnover in the second section is more concrete. The explanation of simple reproduction in the third section is relatively abstract but the analysis of expanded reproduction is more concrete. Of course, in order to understand and grasp the Marxist abstract method it is necessary to read it repeatedly and conscientiously think about it. We will be able to understand the Marxist method of analyzing things from the abstract to the concrete only when we are willing to really study hard. That is to say, we must first of all grasp the nature of things one link after another and go deeper and deeper so that we will be able to gradually approach reality and become invulnerable. The comrades said: "On the first reading we understand nothing; on the second reading we are a little bit enlightened; on the third reading we come to understand the value of the study." The training courses are very helpful for these comrades in improving their capacity for logical thinking and their theoretical ability, and in overcoming their one-sidedness of considering things as they stand. Consequently, they have become more interested in theoretical study.

Second, at first they did not understand the symbols, formulas and figures used in the Marxist theory of reproduction. This was because these comrades have a weak foundation in foreign languages and mathematics. Accordingly, in compiling coaching material or in carrying out teaching, we taught them the pronunciation of symbols written in foreign languages and their meanings.

In order to deal with symbols, we also guided them in combining Marx' literary analysis with the meaning of formulas. When some cadres came to understand the economic relations reflected by formulas, they no longer felt that these formulas were abstract and hard to understand. On the contrary, they found that Marx was able to summarize the complicated relations to scientifically and accurately reflect the law of the process of reproduction. Many comrades said that the understanding of principles is helpful for them in understanding the economic implications of formulas and figures, and with the understanding of formulas they are able to grasp the basic principles even more tightly. They said: "The formulas of reproduction are marvelous. When we are carrying out our work according to these formulas, our economy will be able to develop smoothly, but when they are violated the development of our economy cannot but meet with obstacles. Economic law is merciless." Many comrades made calculations using the 5-year expanded reproduction diagrams worked out by Marx. After making the calculations, they had a better understanding of the relations by which the two big categories condition each other in the process of expanding reproduction. They said that they will always remember "proportionate balance."

In order to help these cadres to understand the meaning of some concepts and spheres, we also held seminars in basic knowledge as an additional means of teaching some of the basic theories. Most comrades had never read volume two of "Das Kapital" and therefore in the course of reading, they could not understand some basic concepts and spheres that are already analyzed in volume one and, as a result, they had some difficulties in their study. Because training courses are given only for a short period, it has been impossible to teach systematically. Therefore, we introduced to them the spheres of commodities, currencies, capital and surplus value through the form of basic knowledge seminars. In this way, we are able to help these cadres, who had never studied basic knowledge, to master it while those who had studied were given the chance to study it again. The comrades said that such a method is imperative because it links the earlier with the later.

#### 4. Combine Theory With Practice, Sum Up Experiences and Guide Work

Combining study with practice is a basic principle in the study of Marxist theory. First of all, we will be able to understand basic principles only when we are able to combine theoretical study with practice. In "Das Kapital," Vol 2, Marx expounded the general principles of social reproduction very freshly, profoundly and abstractly. If we divorce our study from reality, we will find it difficult to understand such principles. Once we link the study with our experiences we will understand them at once. The cadres said that when they read the book just for the sake of reading, they felt that they were isolated behind covered windows and could not see things clearly, but when they linked theoretical study with practice, it was as if they were opening the windows and they could see things clearly. They happily said that following their study of the book in regard to the theory of reproduction, they can clearly see the picture of the whole of socialized mass production. Thanks to the study, they have been able to understand such questions as the circulation and turnover in the economic activities of each enterprise, the movements of reproduction of the whole society that is formed

by the interwoven turnover of enterprises and also the conditions that are needed for carrying out social reproduction smoothly. It is as if they are standing at the top of a mountain to view the panorama.

In addition, the purpose of studying theory is to use it while the process of combining the study with practice and summing up experiences is also the process of mastering and making use of theory. Therefore, when we were introducing some basic Marxist principles, we spared no efforts to combine this course with major experiences and lessons in our socialist construction so as to explain the realistic significance of these principles and guide the cadres in combining theory with practice. These comrades held that studying the Marxist theory of reproduction is of particular significance. In the past, many comrades knew the "how" of the experiences and lessons in our economic construction but did not know the "why." But this time, following their study, they have come to understand that the previous mistakes in the economic construction were caused by the violation of the general law of social reproduction expounded by Marx. As a result, they have a deeper understanding of the correctness of the party's line and principles that have been defined since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. They also found that the 10 principles for economic construction put forth by Comrade Zhao Ziyang in his report on government work accord with our national conditions and each has its own theoretical foundation. If we are able to follow this road, we will be able to carry out our socialist construction healthily and smoothly. This method of study, which is linked with reality, has made the cadres fully confident about the future. Many comrades said that the decision taken by the CCP Central Committee for mid-level cadres to study the Marxist theory of reproduction is of strategic significance in our party's ideological and theoretical construction in the new era.

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QUESTION: WHAT IS MULTICHANNEL COMMODITY CIRCULATION AND WHY MUST WE PRACTICE IT, AND WHY IS STATE MONOPOLY OF GRAIN PURCHASE AND MARKETING A LONG-TERM POLICY?

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 82 pp 29-31

[Article in "Questions and Answers" column]

[Text] Question: What is multichannel commodity circulation and why must we practice it?

Answer by Wan Dianwu [5502 0368 2976]: Commodity circulation channels mean the routes, processes and links through which commodities pass from the producer to the consumer. In the 1950's when economic sectors with various types of ownership coexisted in our country, we practiced multichannel commodity circulation. But owing to interference from the "left," the state trade organs had a virtual monopoly in this field, namely, commodities circulating through virtually only one channel. This adversely affected the development of production and caused inconveniences to people in their daily lives. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have emancipated thought, adopted more liberal policies, learned lessons from our experience with the problems confronting our country in regard to commodity circulation channels, and gradually revived and developed commodity circulation through many channels.

At present, the many commodity circulation channels in our country can be classified in different ways. According to the developmental level of commodity exchange, they can be put into two classes, namely, direct circulation channels, which means that production and commercial distribution are carried out by the same entity (such as fair trade, commercial distribution by producers themselves and so on) and indirect circulation channels, which means the division of labor between production and commercial distribution by using trade organizations as the media for commodity circulation. According to how commodity circulation is administered, they can be divided into planned channels and channels not subject to central planning, the former referring to the channels through which commodities essential to the national economy and the people's livelihood circulate and the latter referring to the channels through which commodities not subject to central planning circulate. For example, three categories of industrial products which might be distributed by trade organs on a selective basis or by industrial



enterprises themselves; three categories of agricultural sideline products, which might be transacted at negotiated prices, and so on. According to the nature of the commercial enterprises which handle commodity circulation, these channels can be divided into four groups, namely, state trade, collective trade, individual trade and joint venture trade. The multichannels which we often talk about are, in general, of the last kind.

Why must we practice multichannel commodity circulation? The main reasons are:

First, there is a great disequilibrium between the regions and departments of our country, the scale and degree of development of commodity production and commodity exchange being quite different. In order to adapt ourselves to this uneven development of productive forces, we must practice multichannel commodity circulation. In our country, where 80 percent of the population engages in agriculture, mainly by manual labor, the commodity rates of various agricultural products, native and special local products, and household sideline products vary greatly. Therefore, we need many channels for goods to circulate between urban and rural areas and for goods to be exchanged between peasants to satisfy each other's wants. If we were to rely on state trade organs and supply and marketing cooperatives alone for commercial distribution without providing peasants with thousands of trade fairs so that "sellers can find places to sell and buyers can find places to buy," we would seriously frustrate peasants from boosting diversified economic activities with enthusiasm. The same situation faces our industry, which has a large number of enterprises scattered over a vast area and has a large variety of products. The small enterprises, which make up a large proportion of our industry, especially require responsive and diverse channels for marketing their products and securing supplies of raw materials and other inputs. In the past, too many agricultural and industrial products were subject to state trade monopoly, which lacked flexibility. This adversely affected the development of production and the improvement of the people's life. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, the relative proportions of agriculture, heavy industry and light industry in our national economy have been becoming more and more rational, and the output of agricultural products and light industrial products has been growing gradually. At the same time the market has become more prosperous and stable, and the commodities subject to state trade monopoly or quotas have been diminishing. As regards the commercial distribution of agricultural products, there are the state trade monopoly, state purchase quotas and purchases at negotiated prices. As regards the commercial distribution of industrial products, the state has ceased to act as the sole agent. It has changed to unified purchases, unified marketing and unified allocation, planned purchases, purchases by orders and selective purchases. As a matter of fact, multichannel commodity circulation has substantially contributed to making the market brisk and to accelerating commodity exchange.

Second, in our industry, agriculture and trade, state ownership, collective ownership and private ownership coexist. The exchange relationships between economic sectors with different ownership systems and those between units

under the same ownership system are multifold and complex. Under these circumstances, limiting commodity circulation channels to a trade monopoly by state-owned trade organs is far from satisfactory. Besides, having their own particular economic interests, industrial and commercial enterprises wish to enjoy a reasonable degree of autonomy in marketing products and purchasing raw materials and in other material inputs. If these activities are overcentralized, the enterprises will be frustrated in displaying enthusiasm and initiative. In order to redress this error, an experimental reform has been carried out in quite a number of state industrial and commercial enterprises in recent years. This has involved granting them greater autonomy. Industrial enterprises now have the power to sell their own products once they have fulfilled the state purchase plans. The commercial enterprises now have the powers to purchase goods on their own. Thus appropriate diverse channels are required for commodity circulation.

Third, there are thousands and thousands of different kinds of commodities, each of which has distinct features with regard to production and consumption. The production and commercial distribution of commodities vary according to whether they are industrial products or agricultural products (especially fresh and live products), big commodities or small commodities, commodities under centralized production and state allocation or under decentralized production and distribution, necessities of life such as grain and other major foodstuffs or consumer durables such as watches and television sets, and so on. Judging by the present capacity of our state trade organs with regard to their organization, management and administration levels, storage and transport facilities, only if we practice multichannel commodity circulation can we ensure that commodities can, in accordance with their peculiar properties and their production and distribution processes, pass from the producer to the consumer by the shortest routes, through a reasonably small number of links, within a shorter period of time and at the cheapest cost.

The experience of the past 3-odd years has proved that practicing multichannel commodity circulation has played a positive role and achieved remarkable results in enhancing the relationship between production and commercial distribution, boosting production, making the market brisk and abundant in goods, making life convenient for the masses, improving enterprise management and so on. Of course, since our administrative work has not been able to keep pace with the developments in commodity circulation because we have started using multichannel distribution and for some other reasons, there has been some confusion and problems in the market. However, from the overall view, "briskness" is the main feature while "confusion" is a phenomenon of secondary significance. Besides, practicing multichannel commodity circulation does not necessarily result in "confusion." The market can become "brisk without being in confusion," and more thriving and stable if the governments at all levels make a great effort to strengthen administration. At the same time they must make full use of taxation, interest rates, pricing and other economic levers as regulators and checks, and ensure that the state commercial enterprises play the leading role in commodity circulation.

Question: Why is state monopoly of grain purchase and marketing a long-term policy?

Answer by Liang Yan [2733 1693]: The policy of state monopoly of grain purchase and marketing comprises the planned purchase by the state of rural surplus grain and the planned supply by the state to the urban and rural population, who need grain. Practice has proved that this policy has played an important role in providing all the people in our country with conditions for a stable life, in stabilizing market prices and in ensuring socialist construction. Must we maintain the state monopoly of grain purchase and marketing now that the grain supply situation is better than before? The answer is yes. The reasons are:

First, although the situation in grain supply is better than before, grain supply is far from ample. The population of our country is 1 billion, and thus providing grain is a matter of top priority. Since new China was founded, grain output has substantially increased. Especially since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, owing to the adoption of more liberal rural economic policies as well as the implementation of various forms of the production responsibility system, the peasants' enthusiasm for work has been greatly aroused. As a result, not only have diversified economic activities developed remarkably, there has also been quite a big increase in grain output, and in the majority of our rural areas, an increase in grain consumption. However, the grain output per capita of our country still is at a very low level. In 1979, when the grain output, including grain for food, fodder, seeds and industrial use, reached an historical high of 664.2 billion jin, the output only amounted to 688 jin per capita, over 100 jin below the lowest level in the world, not to mention the developed countries. To a fairly large extent, our agriculture is subject to climatic changes and therefore the yields are not very stable. In good harvest years, the situation is not too bad, but in lean harvest years, a reduction in grain output will make the grain supply somewhat tight for all who need it.

The level of our country's agricultural output is not high and the commodity rate of grain is very low. At present, the grain purchased by the state by procurement and at negotiated prices only represents about 20 percent of the total annual grain output, and if we deduct the grain that the state sells back to the rural population, the commodity rate of grain is only about 15 percent. Yet this rate can hardly be raised quickly in the coming years. Because the rural population is growing, the peasants want more grain for food and other uses so as to raise their living standard moderately, and more grain has to be used as fodder so as to cope with the needs of developing livestock husbandry. On the other hand, with the proliferation of the urban population and with the development of industrial production, in particular, that of the foodstuff processing industry and other light industries, there will be a growing demand for grain by towns and industries. Moreover, with the diversification of rural economic activities, that grain supplied by the state to teams engaging in cultivating industrial crops, exploiting forests, raising livestock, and working in the salt and fishery industries has greatly increased and more grain has to be sold to

reward the sale of agricultural sideline products to the state. In this connection, taking live pigs as an example, the state now has to earmark 10 billion jin per annum for this purpose, an increase of 60 percent over that of 1978. These are the reasons why the demand for commodity grain in our country has been growing year after year. Therefore, the contradiction between the supply of and demand for commodity grain is still fairly sharp in our country, and a certain amount of grain still has to be imported every year.

Since grain output per capita is not high, determining how much of the annual grain output is to be left with the peasants and how much is to be purchased by the state is a very important policy issue. Handling the matter properly will contribute to consolidating and strengthening the alliance of peasants and workers and to building socialism. Otherwise, it will probably be detrimental to the interests of peasants, or will affect grain supply to urban, industrial, mining and industrial crop growing areas. Practice has proved that only if we firmly maintain the state monopoly of grain purchase and marketing, resorting to state planned purchase and state planned supply (or state supply quotas), will we be able to distribute grain according to a correct ratio between the amount of grain subject to state purchase and the amount to be retained by peasants, and thus ensure that everyone in our country has enough grain to eat.

Second, being a socialist country, we must stick to the principle of developing the national economy according to plan while using market regulators as auxiliary instruments. Although the production responsibility system has been implemented in rural areas in various forms, the rural economy remains a collective economy based on public ownership of land and other basic means of production. Therefore, it must be subject to the guidelines and restraints of state planning with regard to both production and distribution. Among the necessities of life, grain is an item of utmost and vital importance to both the rural and the urban population. Therefore, it must be distributed mainly according to plan. Particularly because the contradiction between the supply of and demand for grain is fairly sharp, the policy of state monopoly of grain purchase and marketing must be pursued with determination. If the production and consumption of grain were entirely regulated by market forces, peasants would, under the influence of the law of value, grow more crops which would bring in more money. As a result, agriculture would fall into a state of blind development and anarchy, ceasing to be a secure source of grain supply for the state and affecting the normal supply of grain to the urban population as well as to that part of the rural population which does not have sufficient grain. Besides, grain prices would fluctuate constantly in accordance with the supply and demand relationships, falling to a level unbearable to peasants in years of good harvest and soaring in years of lean harvest. This would run counter to the interests of both the grain consumers in urban and rural areas and the peasants who grow grain. Fluctuating grain prices would destabilize the prices of other foodstuffs. The workers in our country are receiving quite low wages. Quite a large percentage of their wages is spent in buying grain and other foodstuffs. Under these circumstances, if grain prices were unstable, the urban population could hardly lead a stable life



and the life of the peasants who do not have enough grain would also be adversely affected. Finally, if grain prices were not stable, the market prices of other commodities would be unlikely to be stable and it would be hard to realize a socialist planned economy. Therefore, whether the policy of state monopoly of grain purchase and marketing should be pursued is an important issue which concerns socialist economic construction, and the stability and unity of our country. Instead of being an expedient, state monopoly of grain purchase and marketing is a long-term policy which must be pursued with determination.

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## INDUSTRIAL ENTERPRISES SHOULD BE RECTIFIED IN A COMPREHENSIVE MANNER

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[Article by contributing commentator]

[Text]

I

The CCP Central Committee and the State Council have decided to carry out rectification of all state-run industrial enterprises in a planned, systematic and all-round manner by stages and groups in the next 2 to 3 years. This decision is extremely timely, and it has great significance for better implementing the party's policy of readjusting, restructuring, reorganizing and upgrading the national economy, fully bringing the potential of existing state-run enterprises into play, improving economic results, promoting a fundamental turn for the better in the condition of our national economy and accelerating the development of socialist modernization.

Since the smashing of the "gang of four," industrial enterprises have already carried out many rectifications. Why are we bringing up the question of rectification again at present? This is because although the impressive results obtained from the rectifications of the past have played a promotional role in production, progress in the work of rectifying the enterprises is unbalanced. Only a handful of enterprises have been properly rectified. Most of the enterprises are still in an intermediate state and some have not conscientiously carried out rectification. In these enterprises, management is chaotic and serious problems exist. Even among the enterprises in which rectification has been carried out better, not all the tasks have been done solidly, and relative to the demands of modern socialist enterprise management the gap is still very wide. We must see that such phenomena as weakness and laxity in leading bodies, weak ideological and political work, flabbiness, overstaffing, slack labor discipline, poor product quality, serious waste and poor economic results exist in varying degrees at present in many of the enterprises. Because of the impurity of their leading bodies, a handful of enterprises have been corroded by capitalist ideas. They have shown unhealthy tendencies, violated financial discipline and engaged in such illegal activities as fraud, tax evasion, retention of profits which ought to be turned over to the state, embezzlement and corruption and graft. Unless these problems are solved, it is impossible to strive for a fundamental turn for the better in the condition

of the national economy, and it is even more impossible to really build our enterprises into modern socialist enterprises. Therefore, state-run industrial enterprises must continue to carry out rectification on the basis of the rectifications already carried out.

This rectification is different in character from the rectifications of the past. The rectifications of the past were mainly centered on bringing order out of chaos in various aspects of ideology, theory, policy and organization and correcting the things turned upside down by the "gang of four" in various tasks of the enterprises, removing the bad people who had worked their way into the leading bodies and restoring normal production order and management systems in the enterprises. Therefore, this kind of rectification is different. This kind of rectification is carried out under the condition of the unremitting deepening of the readjustment of the national economy, the continued progress in the restructuring of the economic management system and the steady development already obtained in the national economy. This rectification requires us to mutually integrate the series of tasks centering on readjustment, which was proposed at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee. These tasks include expanding the decisionmaking power of the enterprises, implementing the economic responsibility system, promoting the reorganization and amalgamation of enterprises, establishing and perfecting the factory director responsibility system and the workers' congress system under the leadership of the whole party, improving and strengthening party leadership, strengthening ideological and political work and carrying out rotational technical and vocational training. It also requires us to tackle these tasks in a comprehensive manner based on the specific condition of various enterprises and on the order of importance and urgency. At the same time, it requires us to carry out an all-round rectification of the leading bodies, staff and workers' contingent, management system, labor discipline, financial discipline, party work style and ideological and political work. By means of the rectification, the leading bodies of various enterprises will be strengthened, production and technical management will be established on a solid foundation, various rules and regulations will be harmoniously coordinated, and problems in the implementation of the responsibility system will be properly solved. This will enable the management and administration work of the enterprises to reach a new level and there will be a notable improvement in economic results. This is therefore a comprehensive tackling of the problems of the enterprises.

## II

In this all-round rectification, we must carry out building of the enterprises. What is the objective of the building? This objective has been put forward by the CCP Central Committee and the State Council: We must gradually build the enterprises into modern socialist enterprises with a high degree of material civilization and spiritual civilization and with distinctive Chinese features. To achieve this, all enterprises must make a success of the "three-builds" and fulfill the "six-good demands." The "three-builds" means to gradually build not only a democratic but also a centralized leadership system, to gradually build a Red and expert staff

and workers' contingent and to gradually build a set of scientific and civilized management systems by means of the all-round rectification. By means of the "three builds," the "six-good demands" will enable the enterprises to correctly handle the economic relations between the state, the enterprise and the individual workers, outstandingly fulfill the targets of the state, attain good in taking into consideration the interests of the state, the enterprise and the individual workers, good in product quality, good in economic results, good in labor discipline, good in civilized production and good in political work, and become "six-good enterprises."

Gradually Build Not Only a Democratic But Also a Centralized Leadership System. This is determined by the nature of socialist enterprises. Socialist state-run industrial enterprises are enterprises owned by the whole people. All means of production belong to the whole people and the workers are the masters of the enterprises. The establishment of a leadership system in enterprises under the leadership of the party, giving full play to democracy and exercising centralized and unified command on a democratic basis, can fully reflect the superiority of the socialist enterprises. By means of rectifying the enterprises, we must build an efficient party committee good at unifying all the workers of the enterprises and at implementing the policies and principles of the party as well as the laws and regulations of the state. We must set up a unified system of command over production techniques and business management headed by the factory director. We must perfect the workers' congress system so that all the workers can genuinely exercise the right of running their own affairs. We must gradually bring about the revolutionization of factory-level cadres, lower their age and make them professionally proficient and knowledgeable. The posts of party committee secretaries should be held by party members with strong party spirit and good work style. They must be resolute and good at implementing the line, policies and principles of the party. They must possess a certain knowledge of production and management. They must be able to form close ties with the masses and to handle work in an all-round manner. The posts of factory directors (managers) must be held by comrades who can adhere to the four basic principles of the party, understand production techniques and relevant economic laws and who are good at management and administration. They must be honest and upright, good at forming ties with the masses, in good health and equal to the strenuous demand of leadership work.

Gradually Build a Red and Expert Staff and Workers' Contingent. The staff and workers of an enterprise are the masters of the enterprise. They are the mainstay for building socialist economy. This requires a staff and workers' contingent with high consciousness, fine technical know-how, strict discipline and good work style. Our working class has a fine revolutionary tradition under the leadership of the party. It has always been an outstanding contingent, imbued with creativity, which strongly loves the motherland and socialism and which is industrious and courageous. However, because of the sabotage of the "Great Cultural Revolution" over the years, this fine tradition has been greatly damaged and its cultural and technical level has generally fallen. We must carry out training and raise standards in a planned manner by means of the readjustment and construction. In the



present readjustment, we must pay special attention to solving the following problems:

First, readjust labor organizations. The enterprise must organize production based on fixed personnel and quotas and resolutely overcome the phenomenon of overstaffing and sloppy work. The readjustment of labor organization must be carried out together with the setting up of personal responsibility systems. On the basis of raising the ideological consciousness of the workers, we must define the responsibility of every production post and work post, stipulate the quality and quantity standard for the personnel assigned in accordance with the demand for production skill and vocational work and gradually succeed in assigning qualified people according to a strict standard. We must try to make the best use of people so that everybody will do his best. The enterprise must readjust labor organization and management organs based on fixed staff and quotas. As for some of the surplus personnel, apart from arranging rotational training we can use some of them in strengthening social service organs and some can join labor service organs to open up and develop new avenues of production.

Second, carry out the training of all personnel in a planned manner. Carry out rotational training for the staff and workers by stages and in groups in a planned manner and keep on raising their ideological and political level as well as technical and vocational level. This must be a long-term and consistent system. In the future, all workers who newly enter a factory or who change their type of work must receive training and pass a test before they can take up their work. Major enterprises must set up training centers for their workers. Small and medium-sized enterprises which have difficulty in setting up training centers of their own may do so jointly or let the higher-level department concerned set them up on a unified basis.

Third, conscientiously readjust and strengthen labor discipline. Modern mass production cannot exist without strict discipline. We must energetically strengthen ideological education over the masses of workers and establish the habit of consciously observing labor discipline. We must set up a strict reward and punishment system. Workers whose labor attitude is good and who obey rules and regulations and do exceedingly well in their work must be commended and rewarded. As for those who have seriously violated labor discipline, the enterprise has the right to take economic or administrative action against them according to the measures provided. Those who refuse to mend their ways despite repeated warnings will be strictly dealt with and will even be asked to leave or be discharged. Practice has proved that the "workers' code of conduct" drawn up by the enterprise is an effective measure for educating the workers and strengthening labor discipline. The enterprise must also draw up an appropriate reward and punishment system in accordance with the demand of the "code" to ensure the implementation of the "code."

Fourth, conscientiously strengthen ideological and political education over the masses of workers. Apart from carrying out education on upholding the four basic principles and situations of a routine nature, the enterprise must also carry out patriotic education. By means of systematic political study,

we must enable the broad masses of workers to understand clearly the distinction between socialism and capitalism and recognize the superiority of the socialist system. We must enable them to understand clearly the distinction between socialist enterprise management and capitalist enterprise management, recognize how to correctly handle the relations between the state, the enterprise and the individual worker, and become a qualified and exemplary socialist worker. We must pay particular attention to strengthening education over the young workers and raise the political quality of the staff and workers' contingent.

Gradually Build a Set of Scientific and Civilized Management Systems. At present, we must build the following four systems: 1) We must build an all-round planned management system aimed at fulfilling the state plan and satisfying the needs of society as much as possible. Planning work must be implemented in various departments and posts of the enterprise covering the entire process from planning to production and from selling to followup service. All personnel must strictly carry out production and work according to plan. 2) We must build an all-round quality control system aimed at developing new products and improving product quality. Whether or not the products will be suited to the market and whether or not products are of sufficiently high quality to satisfy the demand of the consumers are the principal hallmarks of the quality of enterprise management. All departments and personnel of the enterprise must really establish the concept of quality comes first and must always pay attention to quality throughout the process of production management. 3) We must build an all-round economic auditing system aimed at improving economic results and increasing the economic income of the state and the enterprise. 4) We must build a set of all-round personnel and labor management systems aimed at fully mobilizing the enthusiasm of the masses of workers. We must combine the training, assessment, promotion and selection of personnel to encourage the enterprising spirit of every worker and keep on improving the quality of the staff and workers' contingent. In order to achieve the above-mentioned objectives, we must also further perfect the fundamental work of enterprise management, perfect the primitive recording and calculating work and strengthen quota management work. We must set up and strengthen the responsibility systems at various levels and in various tasks. We must draw up various work procedures in the enterprise so that production techniques and various work procedures can be based on objective laws and can be carried out harmoniously and consistently. We must perfect the financial management system, strictly implement financial discipline, carry out work in accordance with the state financial system and put an end to waste. We must perfect the civilized production system.

Making a success of the "three-builds" and fulfilling the "six-good demands" will require a certain amount of time and the carrying out of a series of painstaking tasks. "A thousand-li journey is begun by taking the first step." What should we mainly grasp at the present stage in the all-round rectification of the enterprises? In his "Report on the Work of the Government" delivered at the Fourth Session of the Fifth National People's Congress, Comrade Zhao Ziyang stressed: 1) Strengthen and perfect the system of economic responsibility, improve the operations and management of

enterprises and do a good job in overall planning, quality control and economic accounting. 2) Reorganize work units, arrange production according to a fixed number of workers and fixed quotas, systematically train all workers and staff and firmly overcome overstaffing and laxity in work. 3) Strengthen work discipline and strictly enforce regulations concerning rewards and disciplinary sanctions. 4) Strengthen financial discipline, improve financial rules and regulations and tighten financial control. To carry out the above tasks, special efforts must be made to reorganize the leading bodies by putting an end to laxity, flabbiness, overstaffing, and retaining people who are too old. At the same time, young and middle-aged cadres and technical personnel must be promoted to leading posts.

Proceeding from promoting and perfecting the economic management system is an important link in the present rectification of enterprises. Promoting the economic responsibility system is an extension as well as a development of the restructuring of such responsibility systems as expanding the decision-making power of enterprises made 2 years ago. The focus of expanding the decisionmaking power of enterprises is on solving the problems in economic relations between the state and the enterprise and arousing the enthusiasm of the enterprise. The purpose of carrying out of economic responsibility is to change the situation of egalitarianism with everybody "eating from the same big pot," so that the people will consciously concern themselves with the fruits of labor and thus solve the problem of properly arousing the enthusiasm of the workers in the enterprise. The industrial economic responsibility system is for integrating the economic interests of the enterprise and workers with the economic results realized from assuming economic responsibility, and fully arousing their enthusiasm so that they will exert themselves to make a success of production and business management and achieve the best economic results with a proprietary attitude. Some of the comrades have regarded the responsibility system as a matter of distribution of interests. This is incorrect. The economic responsibility system is an integration of responsibility and rights. The enterprise must first be responsible to the state. It must, in accordance with the demand of the state plan and the needs of the market, produce goods which are reasonably priced, attractive and readily marketable to satisfy the needs of society. For the sake of ensuring that the enterprise will fulfill its obligations, the state has given the enterprise certain power so that it can independently and effectively organize production, lower consumption, cut costs and improve economic results. The economic income created by the enterprise must first be used to make contributions to the state. Under the premise of increasing the income of the state, the enterprise may retain a bit more and distribute a bit more to the workers. Some of the enterprises have one-sidedly concentrated on profit without taking into consideration the demands of the plan and without paying attention to the interests of the state and the needs of society. They have blindly gone in for the production of highly profitable goods which are already in excessive supply, lowered product quality and even resorted to improper means to make higher profits. This method is extremely wrong and must be firmly corrected.

In rectifying the enterprises by proceeding from improving and perfecting the economic responsibility system, we must conscientiously solve the

following three problems: 1) Integrate the implementation of the economic responsibility system with planned management. We must instruct the cadres and workers to establish the concept of planning, planned production and production based on the needs of society, and oppose clashing with the state plan as a result of unilateral pursuit of profit. 2) Integrate the implementation of the economic responsibility system with business management and make responsibilities and interests known to every worker. In this way, we will have a new motive force for encouraging everyone to improve business management, carry out technical transformation, raise quality, increase product variety and cut costs, and will not seek higher profit by improper means. 3) The income of the individual worker must be reasonable. At present the production level of our country is still very low and there is a serious shortage of investment funds. If the income of the individual worker is too high, not only can the supply of consumer goods not be guaranteed, but the state will also have no money to carry out construction. If production cannot go forward, the improvement of livelihood also cannot be guaranteed. Comrade Chen Yun said: We must eat and we must build. We must pay attention to these two things. If these three problems can be properly solved, they will contribute to the correct handling of the relations between the state, the enterprise and the individual worker, further tap the potentialities of existing enterprises, raise economic results and greatly benefit the country and the people.

### III

This all-round rectification of enterprises involves various aspects of enterprise management, all the staff and workers of the enterprise, their spiritual features and management concepts as well as the task of restructuring the economic management system and readjusting the economy. Therefore, its scope and depth far exceeds the rectifications of the past. In order to carry out this readjustment smoothly, we must strengthen leadership, properly carry out all-round planning, link up the points and the areas and give guidance in different categories.

The work of the all-round rectification of enterprises is extremely important and arduous. The whole party must take this seriously and mobilize the masses. Party committees, people's governments and responsible departments at various levels must conscientiously instruct, supervise and help the enterprises to carry out rectification. First, they must carry out proper planning so that the approximately 2,000 hardcore cadres of enterprises throughout the country can conscientiously fulfill the task of rectification by stages and in groups within 2 to 3 years. Secondly, they must promptly sum up and exchange experiences in the work of rectification so that it will develop in a healthy manner. Furthermore, they must inspect and carefully check over those enterprises which have been rectified and help the backward units to make a success of rectification. It is necessary to properly coordinate the rectification carried out by the enterprises themselves with the instruction, inspection and approval of the higher-level departments.



To link the work at the points with that of the areas, it is necessary to first make a success of rectifying the points. The enterprises listed as key points for carrying out rectification are mostly backbone enterprises which have an important bearing on the national economy and the people's livelihood. Their output value and taxable profits turned over to the higher authorities occupy an important position in the country. Making a success of the rectification of these enterprises plays a very important role in stimulating our economy and increasing accumulation for the country. The purpose of grasping the points is on the one hand to make a success of the rectification of key enterprises, and on the other hand to create experiences for directing work in other areas.

In order to make a success of the rectification of enterprises, economic leadership departments at various levels must assign responsible cadres as well as provide the necessary professional cadres and party and mass organization cadres familiar with production, technology, business management, wage system and financial accounting, organize them into investigation teams for selected spots and send them to the backbone enterprises by stages. In turn these cadres must conduct investigations and studies, provide necessary guidance, help solve problems and promptly sum up experiences to direct rectification work in other areas under the unified leadership of their respective local party committees and people's governments. In other areas, it is mainly necessary to arouse all the workers of the enterprises, conscientiously study the guidelines of the relevant instructions of the Central Committee, fully bring their initiative and enthusiasm into play in the rectification work and consciously carry out rectification in accordance with the demand of the Central Committee.

Regardless of whether rectifying the points for the other areas, it is necessary to rely on all the staff and workers to carry out rectification under the leadership of the party organization of the enterprise. The party committee of an enterprise is the basic-level organization of the party in the enterprise and its core of political leadership. In the all-round rectification of enterprises, the party committee of the enterprise has an unshirkable duty as a pacesetter and must shoulder the responsibility of leadership. In some of the enterprises, the party committees themselves may have this or that kind of problem, but this should not be used as an excuse to prevent them from leading the rectification of the enterprise. They should carry out a self-revolution and consciously set an example. They should be determined to remold themselves, purify party spirit and correct party work style in the rectification, build the party committee into a strong and militant basic-level organization in line with the demand of the Central Committee and lead the broad masses of workers of their own enterprise to make a success of the work of rectifying the enterprise.

When carrying out rectification, all enterprises must proceed by mobilizing the masses and carry out political and ideological education of the broad masses of staff and workers in accordance with the guidelines of "report on the question of learning from Daqing in industry," a circular of the party group of the State Economic Commission transmitted by the CCP Central Committee. In this way they will clearly understand the fine quality, glorious

tradition and great historical mission of the Chinese working class, consciously uphold the four basic principles, implement the policies and principles of the party, correctly handle the relations between the state, the enterprise and the individual worker, and actively take part in and properly carry out the work of consolidating the enterprise with a proprietary attitude.

At the same time, it is also necessary to direct the broad masses of staff and workers to develop campaigns for emulating, learning from and overtaking the advanced and helping the less advanced and for creating "six-good enterprises." Socialist emulation campaigns are an important method for arousing the broad masses of staff and workers to give full play to their wisdom and ability in building socialism, as well as an important means for encouraging them to learn from and help one another, overcome their shortcomings by learning from the strong points of others and raise their standards both in production and business management. Dialectical materialism informs us that the development of objective things is always unbalanced and contradictions between the backward and the advanced objectively exist. The development of campaigns for emulating, learning from, overtaking and helping will keep on exposing contradictions, discover potential, encourage mutual help and promotion and enable the backward to catch up with the advanced and the advanced to become more advanced. In the rectification of enterprises, the development of emulating, learning from, overtaking and helping activities aimed at creating "six-good enterprises" will focus the enthusiasm and wisdom of the masses on the basic demands of enterprise rectification and thereby expedite its penetrating development.

This all-round rectification of enterprises is a profound change. After all-round rectification, the enterprises must change the backward state of business management and establish an enterprise business management system with distinctive Chinese features in keeping with the demand of modernization. The principal hallmark for measuring the success of enterprise rectification depends on the quality of products, the volume of output, the of economic results and the amount of contribution to the state. If all this arduous task, there must be active participation from the masses of staff and workers on a conscious and voluntary basis. The basic policy of our party is: Wholeheartedly rely on the workers to run the enterprise properly. We must mobilize the broad masses of staff and workers to change their own backward features and to struggle toward the great goal of making a success of the "three-builds," attaining the "six-good demands" and building a socialist modern enterprise with a high degree of material civilization and spiritual civilization and with distinctive Chinese features.

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## CORRECTLY HANDLE THE QUESTION OF MARRIAGE AND FAMILY

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[Ideological commentary by Wang Chunyuan [3769 2504 0337] and Chen Zheguang [7115 0772 0342]]

[Text] The happiness of every household and the personal benefits of people from all walks of life hinge on marriage and family, which affect the prosperity of the nation and the state. All along, our party and state have attached great importance to marriage and family. Under the new historical conditions of strengthening China and of marching toward the four modernizations, there is great significance in correctly handling questions concerning marriage and family.

In the wake of the victory in socialist revolution and the development of socialist constructions, the family in the present state is basically different from that in the old society. But it is still the cell of our society. As the basic unit of people's life, the family still shoulders various social responsibilities. Therefore, whether the question of family and marriage is properly handled has a direct effect on the social development of our state. It is hard to imagine that a vigorous, happy and harmonious family cannot be found in an energetic and happy socialist society. In our state and society, the family is not something insignificant, as some people believe, and can be weakened and destroyed at will. On the contrary, it is a social entity that must be consolidated and developed. We strongly oppose the idea of placing the benefits of a small family above those of the state and the idea of upholding tenaciously the feudal family. For instance, when a person gets to the top, his whole family gets there with him, or in order to get some benefits for the family, the person will cultivate somebody and get in by the back door, or even make use of his position and power to gain personal benefits. This improper social atmosphere, which is related to the old traditional family concept, has seriously damaged the party's morale and the people's customs, as well as corroded the body of the socialist family. We advocate a complete rupture from such a concept of the family, which is incompatible with socialism. We advocate serving the people and we advocate socialism and communist thought. However, this is not done to weaken the family in a socialist state but to consolidate and develop a socialist family. Practice has fully proven that the establishment of the socialist ownership system in our state and the

continuous eradication of the old traditional family concept have not weakened the family. On the contrary, the socialist family relationship has generally been built up and improved. It is foreseeable that the victory and progress of socialist modernization will bring to the socialist family profound changes--not dilution, but an overall enhancement and great improvement of its quality. The crisis of family disintegration in developed capitalist countries is not an inevitable outcome of the scientific and technological revolution, but the result of the disease of capitalism and the malignant devastating effects of selfish utilitarianism. The spiritual culture and material construction of our socialist state are basically different from those of the capitalist countries. They will bring the family in our socialist state to the perfect conditions predicted by Marxism.

The family exists in society. It is interwoven with and closely related to the state. Social troubles will trigger family discord, which in turn will disturb the tranquility of the society. Therefore, family harmony and unity is beneficial to social stability and unity. Family harmony and happiness is a requirement of the four modernizations. A happy family is where people rest happily, where they conserve their strength and store up their energy to fight new battles. It is where they can study quietly and acquire new technical ability for the cause of modernization, where they consolidate their confidence and determination to proceed forward with support and encouragement from their family members. It is very difficult for a person to wholeheartedly participate in modernization if he is in a chaotic and awkward family situation. The responsibility for nurturing a new socialist generation rests upon the family as well as on the society. The family is the cradle of education, and parents are the first teachers of their children. The intimate relationship between parents and children makes family education vital to the healthy development of children, adolescents and youths. Facts show that 8 or 9 out of 10 youngsters who go astray have had inadequate family education. Giving good education to one's children not only fulfills a family's responsibility to the state and the society but also plays an important part in solving the social problem of juvenile delinquency.

We must fully recognize the social significance of the marital relationship before we can correctly handle questions concerning family and marriage. Marriage is not only an important event in an adult's life, it is also an action with comprehensive and profound social content. When a couple gets married, they have obligations to each other as well as to their children. These obligations are more important compared to others in a modern society. Lenin once said, "Love involves the lives of two people and creates a third new life. As a result, love has a bearing on the society and produces a social responsibility." (Taken from K. Zetkin: "Impressions of Lenin," p 70)

The marital relationship affects the personal benefits of the husband and the wife. It also has a direct effect on the benefits of other family members and the society. When a couple gets married, they are held responsible for the legal and moral obligations to each other, to the parents of both



sides and to their children. To think that marriage is only a personal affair, or to set love against responsibility, matrimony against obligations, or to pursue so-called "pure love," which is irresponsible, undemanding and immoral, is actually a reflection of the pernicious influence of the decadent "sexual emancipation" or "sexual freedom" of the bourgeoisie. This is incompatible with the concept of socialist love and marriage. Every citizen should resist and oppose the propagation and development of this ideology, which spoils the socialist marriage and family relationship and poisons the common practice of society.

Freedom of marriage is the sacred right of every citizen and it should be protected by law. The socialist system has, moreover, provided the conditions for this freedom. However, under the influence of the old way of thinking and customs, the freedom of marriage is interfered with, and arranged, forced as well as mercenary marriages and illegal practices are prevalent. We should protect in real earnest the legal rights of the married couple by fighting persistently against such illegal practices. But such freedom does not mean that one can be irresponsible to others or to the society. Neither can he play fast and loose, or go beyond legal and moral ties. Under the socialist system, freedom of marriage must be built on the foundation of a common ideal, and a couple must assume the same obligations to each other and to society. Intelligence and devotion to one's work play the most important part in choosing husbands and wives. Judging people solely by their appearance without giving heed to aspirations and virtues, or even establishing love on the basis of money and power, is by no means a free marriage. Young people with high aspirations and ambitions should treasure freedom of marriage and make proper use of it. They should not yield to the temptation of money, material things and power, and pander to the mercenary marriage in a disguised form. They must not be defeated by the unhealthy trend of capitalist liberalization. They should not adopt a cynical and imprudent attitude toward love and marriage.

We should not take marriage as the end of love but rather as a continuation or intensification of love and a starting point for further development. As partners in life and comrades in work, husbands and wives have deep affection for each other and a very intimate relationship which should be diligently cultivated and nurtured. In this respect, the principle of "mutual respect, mutual care, mutual trust, mutual encouragement, mutual help, mutual concession, mutual understanding and mutual consolation" between husband and wife advocated and practiced by the late Premier Zhou Enlai and his wife, Comrade Deng Yingchao, is exemplary and worth following. If both husband and wife follow this principle persistently, not being chauvinistic, overweening, or self-interested and overlooking the partner, their tree of love will flourish and they will live happily together forever.

Life, of course, is very complicated. Conflicts are sometimes unavoidable even between very harmonious husbands and wives. Whenever discord arises, both sides must remain cool. No one should be so impatient as to provoke the other party and aggravate the situation, much less lightly propose divorce, which would end the marriage, break up the family and deprive the children of their parents' care and education. This is an important question

concerning the benefits of both sides as well as children and society. According to the provisions of Chinese marital law, no divorce will be granted by the court merely at the request of either party. Divorce will be granted or rejected only after the judicial court has clarified the facts, ascertained the rights and wrongs, and ruled that the relationship between the husband and the wife has been broken. The aim of exercising the freedom of divorce is to enable husbands and wives who no longer have affection for each other and who can no longer continue to live together, to end legally a marriage which exists only in name, to rid both parties of pain and reestablish another happy matrimonial family life. It is certainly not to grant legal sanctions to those who are fickle and abandon their spouse and children and spoil the happiness of other families. Therefore, anyone who has a family must take divorce seriously. One has to learn the proper ways to handle marital and family discords, to promote one's love of his or her spouse and develop a happy family.

Since the relationship between marriage and family is a very special one, which is most intimate, tender and delicate, people must correctly handle it by conscientiously observing the law as well as abiding by the moral code. Marital morals are a set of principles which are formed by personal precept and social norms, and a married couple must follow them. The characteristics of marital morals in a socialist state are freedom of marriage, monogamy, equality of the sexes, protection of the legitimate rights of women, children and the aged, and the implementation of family planning. They also ensure that family members respect, love and help one another and are of one heart and one mind. These are the supreme forms of marital morals in the social history of human beings to date. This set of marital morals is in harmony with the socialist marital law except that it is not mandatory but is more demanding than the marital law. Conscientiously handling the relationship between marriage and family with socialist moral standards of marriage is the quintessence of the construction of our socialist spiritual civilization. It is also an important factor for the construction of our material civilization.

At present, socialist marital morals are prevalent in China. However, the feudal marital system--unequal status of men and women, arranged marriage, being well-matched--still exists in China and is still seriously poisoning people's ideas and controlling the behavior of certain people. Furthermore, our state has been a semicolonial and semifeudal society for more than a century. Under the influence of the capitalist style of living imported through the open-door policy, capitalist marital morals of being money-oriented, philandering and harming others to benefit oneself have eroded people's minds and have become the dogma of some people. Such practices should be restrained by correct laws and should also be corrected by justified social opinion. We must make use of these two weapons of law and public opinion to create a healthy atmosphere of abiding by socialist marital morals. At present, anyone who exercises illegal practices in marriage must be punished so as to serve as a warning to others. At the same time, people of high socialist morals should be publicized and immoral practices must be severely criticized. Socialist marital morals should be persistently and distinctively promoted. Socialist marital morals cannot tolerate setting the

wretchedness of capitalist marital morals against feudal marital morals, or vice versa. Every citizen in our socialist state must understand that the practice of harming others to benefit oneself, being fickle in affection, wrecking another family as a third party, ill-treating or abandoning children and the aged, and seeking happiness at the expense of the troubles of other people are all contradictory to socialist marital morals. Abandoning one's spouse owing to a change in position and conditions is by no means permitted in a socialist society. Are we going to tolerate the legal existence of a modern Chen Shimei who disowns his wife? A person who is immoral in marriage can never be strong in politics. A person who heartlessly abandons his family for his own interests will never really love his people or the cause of our party. All communists, the party's leading cadres in particular, should take the lead in abiding by socialist marital morals and in enforcing marital law. They should not arrange their children's marriage and should not be extravagant in marriage. They should not do anything that goes against socialist marital morals. They should promote the party's style in this respect and initiate the well-being of social practices. Under the direction of the party, the women's federation, the CYL, trade unions, cultural organizations and the educational department have paid attention to leading people to comply with socialist marital morals. Persistence in following such morals would open up new prospects for all families in the whole nation and the whole state living happily and harmoniously. The happy families throughout the country will form a strong base for socialist construction.

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A DEMOCRATIC WORK SPIRIT SHOULD BE ENCOURAGED--NOTES ON READING VOLUME ONE  
OF 'SELECTED WORKS OF LIU SHAOQI'

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 82 pp 40-43

[Article by Yao Liwen [1202 0500 2429], Zheng Weizhang [6774 0251 4545] and  
Zhou Zhixing [0719 1807 5281]]

[Text] "We must expand party democracy," "We must encourage a democratic work spirit." ("Selected Works of Liu Shaoqi," Vol 1, p 66; henceforth only page numbers will be given) This was what Comrade Liu Shaoqi advocated in his report at the White area party representatives' meeting in May 1937. At that time, Japanese imperialism was pressing forward with its plan of destroying China, and the various races and various levels of people in our country were facing the calamity of national subjugation. Our party was at the historical juncture of mobilizing millions of people to engage in nationwide armed resistance to the invaders. Comrade Liu Shaoqi's advocacy of these measures at this crucial moment fully illustrated the importance and urgency of the problem.

At the time, the White area party organ was confronted with two possible changes. One was to shift the center of work to the establishment of an anti-Japanese national united front; the other was to free the party members and cadres from the influence of leftist doctrinairism and convert them to self-consciously implementing the party Central Committee's correct line under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong. The latter change was rather penetrating and difficult. Wang Ming's leftist doctrinairism had for a prolonged period of time dominated our party. Inside the party, democratic life had not been normal while the initiative and creativeness of the extensive masses of party members had been restrained. As a result, even a full year after the Zunyi conference certain cadres working in the White area still harbored the leftist erroneous ideas of closed-doorism and adventurism such as "down with everything, absolute noncooperation and struggle to the end against everything." It was realized that if our party failed to rapidly break away from the shackles of "these vicious traditions," or to quickly rectify the party's tendencies, it would be impossible to effect the former change and lead the people of the whole country to victory in the anti-Japanese national salvation struggle. For this reason, Comrade Shaoqi wrote a series of articles exposing and criticizing the leftist



closed-door doctrine and adventurism as well as "extremely undemocratic practices." In these articles, he advocated the following idea: We must expand democracy within the party and encourage a democratic work spirit, and we must carry out, among the party members and cadres, education on democracy and the study and cultivation of democracy. Subsequently, he continued to expound this theme in other publications such as "On the Cultivation of Communist Party Members," "On Struggles Within the Party," "Overcome Difficulties, Prepare for Counterattack, and Create Conditions for the Postwar Establishment of a New China," "On the Party," and so on.

The historical experiences of success and failure have taught us that under the logical premise of a correct line and policy, the expansion of democracy inside the party, the encouragement of the democratic work spirit, the mobilization of the whole party's enthusiasm, and the building of correct relations between the party and the masses constitute important assurances for the realization of the party's general task and the promotion of the smooth development of revolutionary enterprises. Today, we are in the midst of a new era of all-round construction of socialist modernization. We are confronted with the problem of overcoming the vicious practices of subjectivism and bureaucratism in actual work, which results from the influence of the prolonged leftist errors, and also the problem of freeing ourselves from being divorced from the masses. We can derive much enlightenment from seriously studying Comrade Shaoqi's expositions and from historical lessons.

## I

What constitutes a democratic work spirit? It is the execution of certain democratic procedures without being attached to formalism. More importantly, it implies that a democratic spirit be instilled in the life of the party and in all the work of the party. Comrade Shaoqi pointed out that leadership organs should respect each and every comrade's ideas and inherent rights. They should foster the spirit of criticism on the part of the cadres and make them brave enough to speak out. The leadership personnel should consider themselves ordinary comrades, treat others with an attitude of equality, modestly accept criticisms from below, and refrain from exercising special rights. Party organs should absorb and accept the experiences and good ideas of the whole body of comrades. They should, on the basis of democracy, establish the party's collective leadership. They should strengthen education and increase the party members' self-consciousness in obeying the organization, obeying the majority, and observing discipline. They must remove commandism and the doctrine of punishment. This is the democratic work spirit. Each and every one of our cadres must harbor such a spirit and employ it in reforming himself and educating the comrades. Conversely, people without the democratic work spirit are inclined to make arbitrary and peremptory decisions. They suppress democracy and even indulge in individual despotism. Naturally, they divorce themselves from the masses and from reality, and they are unable to formulate correct guidelines and policies. The leftist doctrinaire Wang Ming was precisely this type of person. He completely disregarded organizations and the masses and placed himself above everybody. He subjectively analyzed the state of the revolutionary struggle and mouthed empty, exaggerated and unrealistic slogans,

guidelines and policies, forced the masses into adventurism, and made the party's work sink into the mire of blindness and recklessness. Under the influence of Wang Ming's errors, some comrades treated the party's resolutions with an air of bureaucratism and disdain and behaved in a despotic manner before their subordinates. They only wanted their subordinates' blind confidence and blind obedience. They refused to listen to their subordinates' ideas and would not help them to solve the real problems encountered in work. They only knew how to prepare reports, issue directives, and reprove and reprimand their subordinates. "After being subjected to the abuse and maltreatment by these people who indulge in empty talk, comrades who originally had been very lively and active have become people without a soul and without a future." (p 42) Such leftist closed-doorism and adventurism seriously endangered the work of the party and masses in the White areas. They provided the major obstacle to changing the pivotal center of the work of the party. In Comrade Shaoqi's opinion: "If we do not eradicate and change this type of 'empty talk-ism' our party's organization and work cannot be enlivened or developed." (p 41)

Whether one has a democratic work spirit depends in the last analysis on whether he has a world outlook. Comrade Shaoqi's advocacy of the democratic work spirit and his earnest practice of what he advocated were inseparable from his proletarian world outlook. He insisted on adopting the viewpoint of historical materialism and emphasized the need for cultivating a correct relationship between the individual and the masses. As Comrade Shaoqi saw it, history is created by the masses. Without the masses exerting their efforts, nothing can be successfully accomplished. The cause of communism is a cause of millions of people. An individual can perform only one part of the work. Regardless of how high the social status of an individual, he is but a "drop in the ocean." He must therefore firmly rely on the masses. Communist Party members should not, and cannot, be "heroes" representing the masses in fighting for the world. What they can do is to act as leaders in arousing the self-awareness of the masses, guiding and organizing them in their struggles. One might be a great personage, but he still has this set role. "If anyone endeavors to play a bigger role than this, then this can give rise to all sorts of errors." (p 352)

Some comrades frequently consider themselves wise and brilliant and "higher" than other people. They treat the masses with a bureaucratic attitude. They "stand above the people and not amidst them; they take themselves as the people's bosses and not as their workers. They act outside their authority, monopolize everything, and fail to observe their obligation to democratically cooperate with people outside the party; they take themselves as the rulers of the people and not the public servants of the people; and they do not listen to the people's orders or abide by their wishes." (pp 225-226) This kind of comrade makes no effort to arm himself with historical materialism and does not entertain any thought of believing in the masses, respecting them, or learning from them. How then can they possess a democratic work spirit? Comrades in leadership posts should refrain from following their example.

Comrade Shaoqi further pointed out: "A true democratic spirit is inseparable from the communist virtue of unselfishness." (p 67) Only in possessing the consciousness and unselfish spirit of a communist can we set to rights our relations with comrades and treat them with a democratic attitude. Within the revolutionary ranks, there exist only differences in duties and in the division of work. There does not exist any relative superiority or inferiority. We must treat our comrades with an attitude of equality and sincerity. We must place ourselves in the same position as our comrades and share their thoughts. We should feel concerned for each other and help each other. Those in higher ranks should encourage their subordinates to express views contrary to their own opinions or plans. With their subordinates, they should, wherever possible, resort less to the method of giving instructions or orders and more to the methods of making suggestions and instigating discussions. (pp 42-43) Without communist virtue and cultivation, this can hardly be done. People imbued with selfish and self-centered thoughts "wish to put themselves above other people and disdain being below others; they demand special rights to control other people and not to be controlled by others; they may at all times criticize, attack and insult other people, but other people may not criticize them; they want others to obey their 'decisions,' but they themselves can disobey the decisions of the organization; in their opinion, other people who break the principle of centralization are violating discipline, but they refuse to admit that their breach of the democratic principles is also in violation of discipline; they seek only their own individual development and even harm other people's development just for the sake of their own development." (p 67) These are inner-party reflections of the thoughts of the exploiting class of the old society and run counter to the democratic spirit.

## II

In fostering the democratic work spirit, there must be a definite system to ensure its protection. In his report on the revision of the party constitution at the party's seventh national congress, Comrade Shaoqi made the following elucidation: "Our party is a united body formed by the party head (center), party organs at various levels and the extensive masses of party members which combine in accordance with definite regulations. These regulations constitute the party's democratic centralized system." (p 358) The implementation of democratic centralism organizationally protects the expansion of democracy within the party and the fostering of a democratic work spirit. As early as 1926, when talking about the organization and establishment of trade unions, Comrade Shaoqi pointed out that in democratic centralism, "there must definitely be the centralization of democracy" and that centralization does not mean "centralization in the individuals," but centralization in the resolutions passed by a majority vote at meetings. In 1945, he again made the following lucid explanation: "Only by implementing a high degree of democracy, can we reach a high degree of centralization of the leadership; and only under a high-degree centralized leadership which is based on democracy, can there be a high degree of democracy." (p 366) Some comrades only want centralization and not democracy. The centralization even develops to the point where arbitrary decisions are made and peremptory actions are taken, actions are taken according to the wishes of one

individual, and individual despotism grows. This is tantamount not only to trampling democracy underfoot but also to violating centralization. As a measure of retaliation against this tendency toward individual despotism, the party might even evolve an extreme form of democratization. This violates democratic centralism from another angle. This shows the two extreme phenomena in inner-party life. As Comrade Shaoqi pointed out: "Both of these tendencies are erroneous. They greatly impede and violate the real unification and unity of the party. The party must be alert to prevent the appearance of such phenomena." (p 361) Actual practice has demonstrated that whenever our party insists on the adoption of democratic centralism, life inside the party is active and lively. The vast masses of party members and cadres are high-spirited and vigorous, and the revolutionary cause thrives and prospers. Conversely, whenever democratic centralism is neglected, life within the party becomes low-spirited. It makes some leadership personnel become proud and arrogant and divorced from the masses. It might even bring about the phenomenon of the individual putting himself above the party organization and cause the revolutionary cause to suffer a serious setback. The history of our party has recorded deep and painful experiences and lessons of this nature.

Moreover, Comrade Shaoqi emphasized the importance of instituting a system to protect the democratic rights of the people and thereby to systematize democracy. He said: "To promote democracy, we must set up a democratic system to facilitate supervision by the masses and to ensure that the masses have many opportunities and can employ various ways and means to oppose bureaucratism." (p 387) Whether the masses can exercise supervision hinges on whether our party can retain its character of being the vanguard of the proletariat class; the lack of a sound democratic system might directly affect the capability of the people's masses to supervise our party well. Some comrades within the party have been able to make arbitrary decisions and to take peremptory actions. They have disregarded the wishes of the comrades and of the masses, damaged the enthusiasm of the comrades, and even attacked and retaliated against those comrades who dared to express contrary views. All this can be ascribed, in addition to the fact that the ideologies of the exploiting class have been playing havoc in their minds, to the fundamental reason that the democratic system was not sound enough and was only an impediment to the masses in doing their supervisory work. In Comrade Shaoqi's opinion, those people who have trampled democracy underfoot should be dealt with by law. In 1942, when the anti-Japanese war was at a difficult stage, Comrade Shaoqi, aiming at establishing a strong anti-Japanese democratic base area, paid great attention to the setting up of an "order of democratic political life." He called on our comrades to fully equip themselves with the democratic spirit by learning to be democratic, practicing democracy at the various levels of the populace, and summarizing the experiences of various localities in carrying out democratic ideals so that they could educate the party members and the populace. He said: "We should further formulate certain laws on democracy," and "fix regulations on how to punish officials who have gone against democratic ideals and have infringed on civil rights (people's democratic rights). Inside the party, we should criticize, struggle against and punish party members who oppose democracy."



(pp 226-227) In his opinion, only by stepping up the studies and cultivation of and training in democracy and by protecting the healthy democratic system, can we really foster the democratic work spirit.

### III

In promoting the democratic work spirit, we must insist on criticism and self-criticism. Criticism and self-criticism constitute both the substance of expanding inner-party democracy and the democratic work spirit, and powerful weapons for expanding inner-party democracy and promoting the democratic work spirit. Comrade Shaoqi said: "The central link in expanding inner-party democracy hinges on arousing criticism and self-criticism among the party members and cadres." (p 363) In order to smoothly carry out criticism and self-criticism, it is extremely important that leadership comrades at various levels set themselves up as examples. Comrade Shaoqi further pointed out: "Responsible persons in the various leadership organs must first carry out full self-criticism of the defects and errors in the work under their own leadership." "They must harbor the spirit of being fully prepared to accept other people's criticism." (p 364) Only in this way can democracy inside the party be fostered, and only in this way can we create the democratic atmosphere of daring to speak, not fearing to make errors, not fearing but welcoming criticism, and enjoying a free hand in our work. This atmosphere is precisely the requisite condition for arousing the whole party's enthusiasm and creativeness. Conversely, in cases where the spirit of criticism and self-criticism is lacking, where endeavors are made to cover up or hide one's defects and errors, where there is a failure to "feel glad upon being told of our faults," and where taunting replies are made and opportunities to retaliate sought, inner-party democracy is nonexistent, and far less is the democratic work spirit present.

In carrying out criticism and self-criticism, the democratic spirit must be shown and reasonableness must be firmly insisted upon. It is not a proper attitude by which to treat our comrades if we solely rely on questionable tactics and brutal force and subject party members to crude struggles and punishment. This, in fact, violates the principles of democracy. Against such undemocratic errors, Comrade Shaoqi pointed out: "Inside the party, everything must be governed by reason. Everything must be explained clearly by reason; and there must be a reason for everything." "In order to clearly explain the reason and to be able to explain clearly the reason, inner-party democracy is indispensable. It is absolutely necessary to practice sitting calmly together and thrashing matters out." (p 216) Only by insisting on reason can we make good use of the weapon of criticism and self-criticism and achieve the goal of educating the comrades and unifying the whole party.

In conducting criticism and self-criticism, we must insist on being practical and realistic and must be imbued with revolutionary courage. Comrade Shaoqi believed that there is no perfect leader in the world, neither in the past nor at present, and neither in China nor abroad. Nobody should be afraid of having committed errors. What we should be afraid of is the inability to discover and rectify errors. We must rectify our errors with the highest degree of revolutionary bravery. Such evil practices as "concern for saving

face" and "fear of criticism" must be eradicated. "If you have done bad deeds, why be concerned with face-saving?" (p 312) Comrade Shaoqi not only was brave in discovering and rectifying errors but also encouraged comrades of the whole party to study and bring up problems. In a conversation with some reporters from north China, he pointed out: "You are at liberty to examine whether the party policies are correct or not. If you discover errors in the policies, you are perfectly at liberty to point them out. You have the right to do so." (p 403)

In his article "On Cultivation of Communist Party Members," Comrade Shaoqi pointed out that a real Communist Party member possesses the highest revolutionary courage. "Because he has no selfish motives, he has nothing to hide. He does nothing 'against his conscience.' He can openly reveal his own errors and defects and is brave in rectifying them. They are like solar eclipses and lunar eclipses which occur on and off." (p 132) Comrade Shaoqi was just this type of Communist Party member. He was a good model of being brave in criticism and self-criticism and of insisting on the democratic work spirit. In 1948, the revolutionary situation in the whole country was rapidly developing and victory was in sight. As one of the responsible persons of the party Central Committee, he reminded himself and his comrades to constantly be alert and to refrain from considering themselves as being always correct. He said: "We might be sitting placidly here, but danger is lurking. Have we done anything wrong? We should always ask ourselves this question." (p 399) Comrade Shaoqi never concealed his errors. In the spring of 1947, Comrades Mao Zedong, Zhou Enlai and Ren Bishi remained behind in northern Shaanxi to direct the war of liberation, while Comrades Liu Shaoqi and Zhu De were stationed in north China. In his capacity as secretary of the Central Work Committee, he took charge of the work entrusted to it by the party Central Committee. Under the guidance of Comrade Shaoqi, the various liberated areas undertook the mighty land reform movement and achieved important results. This helped to greatly strengthen both our party and our armed forces and ensured a victorious outcome of the people's war of liberation. Unfortunately, during the course of the work, certain "leftist" errors occurred. Comrade Shaoqi did not evade responsibility. He courageously admitted the errors and strove hard to rectify them. At the 2d Plenary Session of the 2d CCP Central Committee, he solemnly made a self-criticism and said: "In the course of the land reform, the various localities have made certain errors. The party Central Committee was responsible. In large measure I myself was connected with some of the errors." (p 419) This demonstrated the magnanimity and democratic spirit of a Communist Party member.

After studying these dissertations in "Liu Shaoqi's Selected Works," volume one, and giving much thought to our party's history, particularly the experiences and lessons on problems of democracy within the party since the founding of the PRC, we deeply feel that for the sake of strengthening the building of socialist material civilization and socialist spiritual civilization, party organs at various levels and each and every party member should carry on the party's superior traditions, foster the democratic work spirit, and earnestly practice what one advocates, forever and ever!

## LITERARY AND ART CRITICISM IS THE SCIENCE WHICH MAKES LITERATURE AND ART FLOURISH

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[Article by Qu Xing [7257 7534]]

[Text] Our party fully affirms the achievements gained on the literary and art front during the past few years, including the achievements scored in the area of literary and art criticism. Since the smashing of the "gang of four," particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, literary and art criticism has played a positive role in bringing order out of chaos in the struggle to oppose the "two whatevers" and rectify the mistakes caused by leftist thinking in literary and art circles, and has helped to promote a flourishing of literary and art creation and to open up new paths for revolutionary realism in literature and art. It is the achievements that are most important. However, during this recent period, literary and art criticism has been unable to keep pace with changes in form and has lagged behind the development of literary and art creation. In the face of an ideological tide that threatened to violate the four basic principles, it appeared weak and feeble and its attacks on the pernicious influences of "leftist" thinking lacked force. As regards some works, both good and bad, there was an absence of forceful Marxist analysis and criticism. The situation has changed greatly since last summer, and the renewed emphasis on criticism and self-criticism, including literary and art criticism, has aroused the interest and enthusiasm of both the literary and art circles and the whole party. Comrade Hu Qiaomu, in his speech entitled "Several Questions on the Ideological Front," pointed out that "if criticism in any area is to effectively achieve the goal of upholding the four basic principles, it must be correct both in terms of theory and reality and must be carried out in a regular and consistent manner." The question now is how can we make literary and art criticism advance in a regular fashion along the Marxist path so that literary and art criticism keeps pace with literary and art creation.

### I

If literary and art creation is to be carried out in a regular and effective manner, it is essential that we further clarify the aim of such criticism. Looking back on and discussing the history of the past few decades of art and

literary criticism does not seem to be a particularly difficult or superfluous task. Last year a few comrades in literary and art circles were worried that literary and art criticism might damage the hard-earned flourishing nature of the current literary situation. It must be said that there is no need for such general doubts. Only when literary and art criticism is erroneous will this kind of worry ever become reality. Correct literary and art criticism, on the other hand, can only help the overall development of a flourishing and prosperous social situation. Having already summed up positive and negative experiences, our party can now remove all forms of obstruction so as to ensure that literary and art criticism is carried out correctly on the basis of the four basic principles. However, it should also be noted that there are historical reasons for the phenomenon of people having many lingering fears. Since the founding of the PRC, literary and art criticism has played a very positive role, resulting in many fine achievements in the assessment of new works, the cultivation of new artists and writers, and other things. However, it cannot be denied that under the guidance of "leftist" thinking, literary and art criticism often developed into movements of criticism, with comrades being treated like enemies and fragrant flowers being seen as poisonous weeds. During the 10 years of internal disorder, literary and art criticism became an instrument to destroy literature and art, to persecute artists and writers and to exercise "overall dictatorship." The "gang of four" had ulterior motives and their "literary and art criticism," which excelled in "galloping over tender seedlings," directly served their policy of cultural destruction. The historical lesson that should be drawn from this is that the expansion of class struggle in the past influenced the aim and task of literary and art criticism, leading to long-term errors in understanding. To see literary and art criticism as nothing more than an instrument of political struggle on the literary and art front, with the result that struggle becomes everything and criticism becomes an end in itself, violates the "double hundred" policy and leads literary and art criticism onto a mistaken and unscientific path opposed to the party spirit.

We all know that the basic aim of socialist spiritual production is the satisfaction, to the greatest extent possible, of the ever increasing cultural needs of the masses. The correct goal of literary and art criticism should be, and can only be, the development of the productive forces of socialist literature and art, the promotion of a flourishing situation in socialist literature and art, the satisfaction of the ever increasing legitimate needs of the people in their spiritual life and the fostering of new socialist man. Since literary and art creation should pay attention to social effects, literary and art criticism should also pay attention to social effects. An important criterion for judging whether the effects of literary and art criticism are good or bad is whether socialist literature and art are flourishing or declining. From history we can see that any progressive literary and art criticism plays a positive role in promoting the development of literature and art. At the beginning of our country's Tang dynasty, Chen Ziang advocated the "style of Han and Wei" in literature and art, offering theoretical criticism of the overly elaborate formalism inherited from the Qi and Liang dynasties' emphasis on "overelaborate beauty and form." In this way he began a new poetic style, opening up the way for



the flourishing development of Tang dynasty poetry. In Russia in the 19th century, it was the theoretical criticism of Belinskiy, Chernyshevskiy and Dobrolyubov that led to the development of the literary movement of critical realism in a more self-aware fashion, and to the eventual triumph of this movement. A cause-and-effect relationship exists between correct literary and art criticism and the flourishing of literary and art creation. We should pay attention to this rule of internal connection.

When we say that the aim of literary and art criticism should be to promote the development of a flourishing situation in literary and art creation, we do not mean that we can neglect to criticize and struggle against works, ideological trends, and literary and art views that express erroneous tendencies. The point to be remembered is that criticism and struggle should not be taken as ends in themselves. We should pay close attention to the special characteristics of struggle in literature and art. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "The principal method of struggle in literary and art circles is literary and art criticism." This is undoubtedly correct. Literature and art have always developed out of struggle. Take, for example, the situation after the fall of the "gang of four." Had the broad masses of literary and art workers not struggled against and criticized the dictatorship theory, the sinister line on the literary and art front of the "whatever" viewpoint, the "proceeding from the line," the "three emphases" and other idealist fallacies, would it have still been possible for revolutionary realism in literature and art to achieve such an overwhelming victory? Today, if we fail to struggle against the erroneous trend toward bourgeois liberalization, a trend which violates the four basic principles, if we fail to criticize all negative, unhealthy and dangerous works and views on literature and art, and if we fail to criticize all viewpoints that lead to crude simplification or dogmatism in literary and art theory, then it will certainly be impossible to have a healthy development in literature and art. Strictly observing the special characteristics of literature and art, we should use literary and art criticism to uncover and affirm good and relatively good works. While upholding the principle of creative investigation, we should criticize all unhealthy and incorrect creative tendencies and all bad works. Under normal circumstances, however, encouragement should play the dominant role. We should promote and support both the free competition of different literary and art works and the free debate of different literary and art viewpoints. By constantly summarizing our experience of literary and art creation and investigating the rules governing the development of literature and art, we should try to guide the development of literary and art creation and the literary and art cause. In this way it will be possible to achieve the goal of promoting a situation of flourishing literary and art creation and of promoting the cause of literature and art.

## II

If literary and art criticism is to be carried out in a regular fashion, we must take pains to guarantee the correct nature of such criticism. What is meant by correct criticism? More than 100 years ago, the great Russian poet Pushkin commented that "criticism is a science." "Criticism is the science that seeks to uncover the beauty and failings of a literary or art work."

("On Criticism," "Selected Translations of Ancient Literary and Art Theory," Vol 2, p 153) In his speech "Several Questions on the Ideological Front," Comrade Hu Qiaomu stated that "correct criticism does not depend on status but on science and art; that is to say, it depends on truth and correct methodology." He also said: "Literary and art criticism is a specialized branch of science." "Criticism itself is, to varying degrees, both a type of scientific research and a form of creative labor." These comments really hit the nail on the head. They not only correctly reveal the nature of literary and art criticism but also cut right to the core of the problems that have affected our literary and art criticism for many years.

The most basic demand of literary and art criticism that is both Marxist and scientific is that one should adopt the attitude and method of seeking truth from facts. Literary and art criticism can be adjusted to suit different times and different circumstances as well as different points of emphasis. However, there should be no contradiction, and it is essential to preserve consistency. We cannot say one thing today and another thing tomorrow. We must be firm in our principles on questions of theory and should avoid shifting back and forth. As far as works of art or literature are concerned, "only when criticism says what is good and what is bad will it benefit the author or artist." ("Complete Works of Lu Xun," Vol 4, p 395) Extreme forms of pragmatic criticism that either "praise to the skies or consign to oblivion" violate scientific principle. Literary and art criticism must be able to withstand the test of history and practice.

If literary and art criticism is to be scientific, we must first of all have a complete and historical understanding of the object of such criticism. On this question, Lu Xun once made some very well-known and insightful comments: "I believe that if one is to judge literature in a relatively accurate manner, it is important to pay attention to the complete text; the entire character of the author and his position in society." ("Complete Works of Lu Xun," Vol 6, p 344) Lu Xun's viewpoint is entirely in keeping with dialectical materialism. Engels' discussion of Goethe and Lu Xun's criticism of Tao Yuanming provide us with examples of how criticism should be carried out. Engels recognized not only that "Goethe was at times extremely great," but also that he was "at times extremely small." "While Goethe was sometimes a rebellious genius who loved to ridicule and dared to disdain the world, he could also be an overcautious, self-satisfied and narrow-minded mediocrity." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 4, p 256) Lu Xun took note of the "inactive and carefree" side of Tao Yuanming's character expressed in lines such as, "Picking chrysanthemums by the east fence, in the distance I see the southern mountains." However, he also appreciated the "steely and angry gaze" found in other poems: "Jing Wei carries alivers of wood; to fill the vast sea, Xing Tian dances with his sword, his fierce will forever firm." "'Fierce will forever firm,' and 'In the distance I see the southern mountains' represent different sides of the same person, and to emphasize one side at the expense of the other distorts this person's true character, and the more such distortion occurs the more divorced the criticism is from reality." (ibid., p 336) It is most unfortunate that it was not at all rare for literary and art criticism in the past to ignore the "whole person" and to ignore the "whole work." This tendency to focus on

minor details at the expense of the whole and to use sections of a piece completely out of context led to criticism that was, on the whole, "divorced from reality."

Literature and art use images to reflect life and express thinking and emotion. Scientific literary and art criticism should proceed from an understanding of artistic images and should avoid analyses and assessments that are divorced from images. In assessing the thinking and emotion revealed by a work's images, it is essential to observe the work's main trend. Comrade Stalin believed that the value of a literary or art work is determined not by "specific details" but by a "general tendency." ("Complete Works of Stalin," Vol 12, p 101) While a work might contain certain noteworthy descriptions, if the main trend is bad we should be negative in our criticism. If the main trend of a work is basically good, our criticism should be positive even though there might be certain shortcomings. Perfect works are, of course, good; unfortunately, however, they are very difficult to come by. Lu Xun was very much opposed to metaphysical literary and art criticism that "demanded perfection." He saw no point in demanding that "all jewelry be pure gold" and all characters be "absolutely perfect." He opposed "rejecting the whole thing because of one shortcoming." He compared flawed works with "bruised apples," and hoped that "critics would be able to gouge out the bruised portions." If an apple is bruised this does not mean we should "refuse to put it in the basket." ("Collected Works of Lu Xun," Vol 5, p 94)

Owing to the effects of the "leftist" guiding ideology in the past, it was common for people to adopt a pragmatic attitude in their treatment of literary and art criticism. This ran completely counter to the scientific attitude and methodological demands discussed above. Neglecting both analysis of artistic images and main trends, they invariably seized on a few isolated sentences and specific details, arbitrarily extending meanings and passing judgment. Kang Sheng's attack on the film "A Thousand Li Against the Wind" as a "poisonous weed" is an example of such simplistic, crude methods. He cooked up a series of charges by saying that the words uttered by the film's reactionary characters represented the thinking of the author. During the 10 years of turmoil the methods used by Lin Biao and the "gang of four" to arbitrarily extend meanings and draw inferences were often even more absurd than those of the "index group" in Hong Lou Meng studies: "Hai Rui Resigns From Office" was seen as an attempt to vindicate Peng Dehuai; the great red horse in the opera "Three Visits to Taofeng" was interpreted as an attempt to "revive the counterrevolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shaoqi," and any suggestion that the sun had dark spots was seen as an attack on Chairman Mao. There was every type of absurdity imaginable. Such anti-scientific literary criticism embodied an idealist and metaphysical approach. Although scientific literary and art criticism has its own special rules, once it departs from dialectical and historical materialism it will easily go astray.

If literary and art criticism are to become an art, whenever we assess a work of literature or art we must combine ideological analysis with artistic analysis, linking the social value of a work with its aesthetic value. Any

art or literary work will always have a certain ideological content as well as an artistic form. As long as criticism concentrates on analysis of political content alone or, on the other hand, ignores ideological content and concentrates on examining artistic form at the expense of everything else, it is impossible to talk of literary and art criticism being scientific. Certainly, as far as the relationship between content and form is concerned, it is content that plays the leading role, and in the relationship between ideology and art it is ideology that occupies the more prominent position. However, in a single work's content and form, ideology and art combine to form an integral whole. We regard literature and art as such because of their special artistic conception, artistic expression and artistic form. The significance of this is that, far from being something of secondary importance, artistic content is an important prerequisite for literature and art. Comrade Zhou Enlai put this very well when he said, "If politics replaces art there will be no culture. Will there be anything left worth looking at?" Clearly it is artistic content that differentiates literature and art from politics, philosophy and other ideologies. Moreover, this artistic content is of critical importance to the survival of literature and art themselves; in fact it is this which actually determines their nature as literature and art. In a good work, ideological content and political content "flow naturally from the scenes and plot of the work." For this reason, when assessing a work of literature and art, we should start with an analysis of the work's artistic content, combining rather than separating the analysis of art and ideology, uniting rather than separating ideological and artistic criteria. The position of artistic analysis in literary and art criticism was ignored for a considerable period of time in the past. Political criteria became not only the foremost consideration but the only consideration. Political judgment replaced artistic analysis. Such literary and art criticism was of little use in helping the author sum up his creative experiences or in helping the reader to appreciate the work. Since we demand that revolutionary ideological content be combined with the best artistic form possible, when it comes to literary and art criticism our judgments should be based on "aesthetic and historical considerations" as well as a viewpoint that unites ideology and art. Only when this is the case will it be possible to have valuable and scientific criticism. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "We oppose both the tendency to produce works of art with a wrong political viewpoint and the tendency toward the 'poster and slogan' style, which is correct in political viewpoint but lacking in artistic power. On questions of literature and art we must carry on a struggle on two fronts." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 826) This is a principle that should be firmly upheld by scientific criticism of literature and art.

### III

The crux of regularizing literary and art criticism lies in upholding the party's four basic principles and the policy of literature and art serving the people and socialism and of "letting a hundred flowers bloom and a hundred schools of thought contend." Not only is the launching of literary and art criticism needed to uphold the party's four basic principles in literature and art and to adhere to the orientation of literature and art serving the people and socialism, but it is also implied in the idea of



implementing the "double hundred" policy. We cannot set out to understand the "opening-wide" policy just by looking at the words. It seems that its purpose is to lump together various theoretical viewpoints and various literary and art works, making no distinctions between them and treating them all as being the same. We should not think that the criticism of erroneous literary and art viewpoints and works that show unhealthy tendencies is antagonistic to the "opening-wide" policy. It is not the purpose of the double hundred policy to open wide. It is the purpose of the "double hundred" policy to promote the proliferation of socialist literature and art and the progress of science. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "To 'open wide' means to let all people express their opinions freely, so that they dare to speak, dare to criticize and dare to debate." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 414) Our society is still filled with various contradictions. Although class struggle still exists within a definite sphere, what does exist in abundance in social life are contradictions among the people. The "double hundred" policy was put forth on that basis. It requires us to resolve contradictions among the people on the literary and art front, ideological problems among the people and questions of right and wrong in literature and art, including fallacious things in the spiritual world, by using democratic methods, the method of discussion and the methods of criticism and self-criticism. In the past, under the influence of the spread of class struggle, an excessive struggle was carried out on the literary and art front, with the result that when we were rectifying these "leftist" errors, another tendency emerged. This was because we lacked forceful criticism of the bourgeois liberalization tendency and the various vulgarized and commercialized unhealthy tendencies that indeed existed. Some people were fed up with being criticized and treated correct criticism as "wielding the big stick." Some people doing the criticizing were apprehensive about criticism, afraid of being misunderstood as "wielding a big stick." This situation was unfavorable to the development of our literature and art in the direction of serving the people and socialism. It was also out of line with the demands of the "double hundred" policy. Now, as we start to bring about a change in this situation and to launch literary and art criticism, we must bear in mind the experience and lessons of the past and unswervingly implement the "double hundred" policy, so as to enable literary and art criticism to develop in a perfect and sustained way.

In launching literary and art criticism in accordance with the demands of the "double hundred" policy, we must draw a strict line between contradictions among the people and contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. The launching of literary and art criticism among the people calls for the upholding of the policy of "unity-criticism-unity." We must first have a common desire and a benevolent attitude. We must hold discussions in a comradely way and treat others as equals. We must not use our influence to oppress others. As for comrades who have committed errors, in particular those who have committed serious errors, we should welcome any attempt on their part to mend their ways. It should be stressed that: "Questions of right and wrong in the arts and sciences should be settled through free discussion in art and scientific circles and through practical work in these fields. They should not be settled in an oversimplified manner." (ibid., p 388) "It means not coercing people with wrong views into submission but

convincing them by reasoning." (ibid., p 415) We must definitely avoid capitalizing on other's vulnerable points, sticking labels on others, "wielding big sticks," making concerted attacks and launching campaigns. We must advocate criticism that seeks truth from facts, that is reasonable, balanced and convincing. We must oppose "criticism" that is hairsplitting, makes rude attacks, cooks up charges, is exaggerated and sets out to destroy people. Of course, just as we cannot "demand perfection" in literary and art works, so we cannot require absolute correctness in literary and art criticism. The quality of literary and art criticism can only be gradually improved in the course of practice.

Whether we can truly implement the "double hundred" policy in literary and art criticism depends to a great extent on whether there is counter criticism and whether we can achieve the "freedom of criticism and the freedom of criticizing critics" put forth by Comrade Mao Zedong. If the power of counter criticism is not protected, there is the danger of a "one-man show." With counter criticism, and allowing the criticized to keep their opinions and to defend themselves, we will be able to reduce or even avoid the evil consequences of the confusion of right and wrong, black and white, brought about by erroneous criticism. Differences of opinion among the people are tolerable. Truth is developed in the course of comparison and struggle with falsehood. Marxists should have confidence in their own strength. Falsehood will not stand up to refutation, whereas truth is irrefutable.

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## LENIN ATTACHED IMPORTANCE TO REFORMING STATE ORGANS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 5, 1 Mar 82 inside back cover

[Article by Wen Zehuan [7614 3419 3562]]

[Text] Lenin bitterly hated bureaucratic tendencies existing in state organs. He deemed that if we failed to carry out tenacious struggles against them systematically so as to reform state organs in real earnest, "we shall certainly be destroyed" by them.

Early in 1918, Lenin insisted on reforming state organs. However, the party was unable to put the task on the agenda as the civil war was still going on. After Soviet Russia won the war and entered into the period of rehabilitating the national economy and building up socialism, this subject of reforming state organs became a problem of great concern to Lenin. He pointed out: Reforming state organs is a problem that "particularly interests me." If we "are determined" to do so, "it will be a great asset and guarantee us success." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 355) From December 1922 to March 1923, through letters and dissertations, Lenin proposed many times to the party Central Committee that state organs be reformed and clearly pointed out that reforming state organs was a major task during the time of peaceful construction. He said: "The problem of running and improving our state apparatus is a very difficult one that is far from being solved, and it must be solved urgently." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 693) He also said: "With the onset of peace and the satisfaction of the minimum requirements against famine, all our work must be directed toward improving the administrative machinery." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 36, p 619)

Hence, what should be done for reforming state organs? Lenin believed that in order to attain the goal of reform, some strong, practical measures must be taken.

1. Streamline state organs. Lenin pointed out that with a view to improving work efficiency and saving on expenses, the number of staff members in state organs must be reduced to the minimum so as to strengthen the ties between state organs and the masses. In his letter to members of the Collegium of the People's Commissariat for Workers' and Peasants' Inspection, Lenin said: "You have a staff of 8,000 instead of 9,000. Would it be possible to cut it down to 2,000, with salaries for 6,000 (i.e., to treble the payment) and improve their qualifications?" ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 36, p 602)

2. Select qualified personnel. Lenin pointed out: It is necessary "to select and concentrate a staff of workers who are really abreast of the times, that is, who are not inferior to the best West European standard." His principle of selecting staff was "better fewer, but better." Except for those being recommended, the staff "must pass a difficult test, such as a test of knowledge of our state apparatus and a test in the fundamentals of the theory of our state apparatus, in the fundamentals of management, office routine, etc." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 702)

3. Improve work style. Lenin often instructed workers of state organs to get in touch with reality and solve various problems arising in actual life. He sharply denounced those phrasemongers who divorced themselves from reality and "the arrogance of party members," and he often advised government workers to speak "fewer pompous phrases and do more plain, everyday work." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 29, p 389) In his letter to the Central Statistical Board in 1921, Lenin asked them "to put 99 percent of the personnel on processing data that are practically and urgently required for our economy." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 13)

4. Carry out inspection and supervision. Lenin maintained that strengthening inspection and supervision in state organs was also an important measure for reforming state organs. Under Lenin's leadership, the State Control Department was set up in 1918, and in 1920, the State Control Department was turned into the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection Department. Then in 1923 the Workers' and Peasants' Inspection Department was amalgamated with the Central Control Commission on the proposal made by Lenin to the party Central Committee so that the new organ had extensive power to inspect and supervise state organs. At the same time, he also stressed that the party and state leading comrades themselves should practice inspection and supervision over state organs. In his decree on the functions of the deputy chairman, Lenin pointed out: "The main functions of the deputy chairman are to exercise executive control over the fulfillment of decrees, laws and decisions; to reduce the staffs of Soviet government offices and supervise the reorganization of their activities along proper and rational lines; and to combat bureaucratic methods and red tape." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 33, p 298)

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